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23 FEBRUARY 1987

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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23 FEBRUARY 1987

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## USSR BLAMES U.S., ISRAEL FOR MIDEAST TROUBLE

OW191900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1853 GMT 19 Jan 87

[Text] Damascus, 19 Jan (XINHUA)---A senior Soviet official blamed here Sunday the United States and Israel for their adventurous policy of aggression which he described as the cause of the "explosive" situation in the Middle East.

Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Soviet Committee of Religious Affairs who was just winding up his 1 week visit to Syria, said at a press conference that he was satisfied with the expansion of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Syria.

He stressed that peace in the Middle East is part and parcel of peace and security of the whole world.

Kharchev commended the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed between the Soviet Union and Syria in 1980 which "opened a new phase" in the development of mutual relations between the two countries.

The Soviet official described his talks with President Hafiz al-Asad and other Syrian leaders as fruitful and constructive.

Observers here considered Kharchev's visit to Syria as having more political than religious implications at a time when the U.S. Special Envoy Richard Murphy just wound up a shuttle in the Middle East and the Islamic summit is to be opened in Kuwait a week later.

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CSO: 4000/67

## IRAN ARMS DEAL SHEDS LIGHT ON U.S.-SOVIET MIDEAST RIVALRY

Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Dec 86 p 4

[Article in "Survey of Current Events" column: "What Is Behind the U.S.-Iran Weapons Deal"]

[Excerpts] The Reagan administration's secret arms sale to the Iranians has caused strong repercussions within and outside of the United States.

With the success of the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, the United States suffered a severe setback by losing a strategic foothold in the Gulf. And the United States has been concerned with the uncertainty over the prolonged 6-year war between Iraq and Iran.

The United States, aware that Iran is in critical need of arms and ammunition, has hoped for a rapprochement by selling it weapons. By doing so, the United States clearly hopes to influence the outcome of the war, thereby enabling it to reenter Iran.

The Soviet Union of course could not ignore this important U.S. initiative, to which it promptly voiced strong opposition. In fact, the Soviets are as much concerned as the Americans about the Iran-Iraq war. In the past, the Soviet Union consistently supported Iraq both politically and militarily. But recently, it has adjusted its policy toward Iran by restoring trade and increasing official visits.

The disclosure of the secret U.S. weapon deal with Iran has enabled people to gain a better understanding of the political rivalry in the Middle East--the Gulf in particular--between the Soviet Union and the United States.

CSO: 4005/334

## USSR 'KEENLY INTERESTED' IN ISLAMIC SUMMIT

OW201932 Beijing XINHUA in English 1859 GMT 20 Jan 87

["USSR Keen in Upcoming Islamic Summit for Afghan Issue (by Chen Ruining)"]--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Kuwait, 20 Jan (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union seems to be keenly interested in the upcoming Islamic summit scheduled to open in Kuwait on 26 January in connection with the Afghan issue.

According to press reports here today, Kuwait Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad has received a message from the Supreme Soviet Council for the Amir of Kuwait, dealing with the Islamic summit and Iran and Iraq war.

Soviet Ambassador to Kuwait Ernest Zverev, while addressing a press conference here on Sunday, said that Moscow considers the summit an "international event" of great importance." He recalled that Shrifulddin Pirzada [spelling as received], secretary-general of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) which sponsors the Islamic summit, visited Moscow last November and has been invited to visit Moscow again next month.

Pirzada told newsmen today that from the message he has received from the Soviet leadership, the USSR have shown "keen interest" in coordination with the OIC.

Political observers here pointed out that the Soviet keen interest in the Islamic summit is closely connected with the vacancy of Afghanistan's seat in the summit as its membership in the OIC was suspended in January 1980 immediately after Soviet occupation of this Islamic country.

While the Soviet-backed Najibullah regime has been spurned from the summit, a delegation of "Mujahidin," Moslem guerrilla fighters, has been invited to the summit as observers.

Two weeks before the summit is due to open, a unilateral ceasefire with the guerrilla fighters took effect although the Moslem fighters have rejected it as a "fraud."



There has also been a Soviet-backed proposal to set up a coalition government of Najibullah regime and the Moslem fighters, which has also been rejected.

The Soviet Union seems to be interested in influencing leaders of some Islamic countries to help it wiggle out of its present quagmire in fighting against the Afghan resistant movement while retaining its control over the area, observers here said.

Pirzada told newsmen that the Islamic summit will discuss the Afghan issue in the light of "the latest development" in the country.

How to assess the "latest development" and what should be the next step to be taken in Afghanistan will be an interesting issue for leaders of the Islamic world.

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CSO: 4000/67

## PRC DELEGATE ADDRESSES ASIAN-AFRICAN LEGAL MEETING

OW171248 Beijing XINHUA in English 1203 GMT 17 Jan 87

[Excerpt] Bangkok, 17 Jan (XINHUA)--The 26th annual session of the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee (AALCC) ended here this afternoon with an appeal for greater international solidarity and cooperation in settling the refugee problem.

The refugee problem is one of the main topics for discussions during the week-long conference of AALCC, an inter-governmental organization with a membership of 40 countries. The conference was attended by senior officials, jurists and legal experts from over 60 Asian and African countries.

It was considered at the conference that burden sharing should be applied progressively to facilitate the process of durable solution for refugees which, concentrating mainly in the developing countries, have numbered more than 10 million.

The international community is urged to share the refugee burden shouldered by countries of first asylum.

Thailand's proposal on setting up safety zones for Indo-Chinese refugees in their own countries received wide support from the delegates who also discussed how to set up such zones under the auspices of an international organization.

It was agreed that a working group should be set up to study the feasibility and implementation of the Thai proposal.

Besides, a high tribute was paid to Thailand for its persistent efforts in accepting and resettling Kampuchean refugees.

The Chinese delegates pointed out that the worldwide problem of refugees is the result of contradiction and turbulences in international political, social and economic life, adding that a thorough solution will be brought about only when its causes are eliminated.

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CSO: 4000/67

PDRY TO CONTINUE 'STRATEGIC RELATIONS' WITH USSR

OW142146 Beijing XINHUA in English 1456 GMT 14 Jan 87

[Text] Aden, 14 Jan (XINHUA)--Aden will continue boosting the "strategic relations" with Moscow as well as relations with other socialist countries.

This statement was made by 'Ali Salim al-Biedh, secretary general of the Yemeni Socialist Party in his speech to a rally last evening to mark the first anniversary of 13 January event, according to the Aden news agency today.

He said that his country cherishes the advanced level attained by the warm bilateral military coordination, based on the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed in 1979 with the Soviet Union.

Al-Biedh stressed that the national amnesty will not pardon those who stained their hands with "the blood of our party and people" during the civil strife 13 January last year.

However, he said that "the doors of the homeland shall remain open to those to whom the general amnesty is valid."

He expressed concern over the development of the unity with Arab Yemen, adding that the "security and stability in all parts of the Yemeni arena" and the Yemeni unity should be realised through peaceful and democratic means.

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CSO: 4000/67

LIU ZAIFU'S VIEWS ON REALISM, HUMANISM CRITICIZED

HK300739 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by He Manzi [0149 3341 1311]: "Realism and Humanism--An Exchange with Comrade Liu Zaifu"]

[Text] In recent years, Comrade Liu Zaifu has carried out some creative explorations of literary methods. His ideas have attracted some people and have also triggered opposition from other people. Here, I will not assess the right or wrong of his ideas, but I believe that his efforts have played a positive role in breaking through the monopoly of vulgar sociology in literature. In this article, I will talk about the two questions of realism and humanism, which are discussed by Comrade Liu Zaifu in his recently published article entitled "The Main Literary Trend in the New Period." This is not only because these two questions are of vital importance to literature but also because although the article was published under his name, the subject matter was introduced by Comrade Liu Zaifu in an important speech he made in his capacity as director of the Institute of Literature at the "Symposium on the 10-year Literature of the New Period." Since his article is of such importance, there is a need to clarify some questions. Other questions discussed in his article have extensively touched upon literary phenomena of the past 10 years, so I will not take the time to discuss them in such a short article. In this article, I would like to exchange opinions with Comrade Liu Zaifu on only two questions, which are of fundamental importance to us all. Since there are so many factions in the present theoretical field, I have to make it clear that my discussions with Comrade Liu Zaifu in this article do not necessarily mean that I advocate voting for the faction adopting a negative attitude towards his explorations.

On Realism

Comrade Liu Zaifu has defined realism as the "reproductive" literary method, and has set it against "expression," "reaction," and "fantasy," as well as some other literary methods. His main ideas are:

The literature in the new period is basically acknowledged. Literature and art are the reflection of society. However, literature and art are not only the direct reflection and imitation of real life but also the expression of people's individual spiritual life and emotional life. The "reproductive" literary method is no longer regarded as the solely legitimate literary ideological

method. Writers have begun to pay more attention to "expression," "reaction," and "fantasy," and some other literary methods as well. Because of this new understanding, literature has broken the traditional mode of realistic creation....

Such "direct reflection and copy" with realism is not only a distortion of the Marxist literary outlook (realism), which is regarded as the law of literature, but is also a distortion of the realistic creative methods of the classical realistic writers of the 19th century (such as Stendhal, Balzac, Tolstoy, Romain Rolland, Lu Xun, and others). Either willingly or unwillingly, Comrade Liu Zaifu has reaffirmed a long-standing vulgar sociology in literature, that is, the removal of enthusiasm, ideals, fantasy, and other factors in literature from realism and the handing over of these factors to romanticism and non-realism. Therefore, the "reproductive" literary method he has talked about is actually naturalism (namely the "realism" in the vulgar sociology), or something that is inferior to naturalism. According to the Marxist realistic literary outlook, "reproduction" is not a concept which is antagonistic to "expression," and reproduction is just a more vivid, richer, and truer expression. I cannot imagine that any life can be automatically reproduced in literature through the means of language. It must be reproduced by man, by the spiritual flame of enthusiasm, ideals, and fantasy lit by the subject created, and through the hand-to-hand battle of life, and can only be expressed and reproduced through his poetic reaction to life so as to become not only the expression of real life, stamped with the writer's own brand, but at the same time, also the "expression of people's own spiritual life and emotional life" as has been claimed by Comrade Liu Zaifu. As for such a question of common sense, the vulgar sociologists may not understand it, and may even obliterate and distort it. However, it is indeed surprising that such a man as Comrade Liu Zaifu, who is famous for flaunting the literary subject, has also put forward such an idea. The reason that Comrade Liu Zaifu wants to "theoretically" deprive realism of its rich contents, and restrict it to being "only the direct reflection and imitation of real life" (that is, to reduce it to the functions of a camera) is, no doubt, to stress the following argument, which is that "realism no longer describes itself as containing all creative methods, and no longer puts other creative methods into its own category, but regards itself as a creative method which stands side by side with other creative methods and recognizes the rationality of other creative methods." This not only logically contradicts his above remarks but also shows his confusion over the concept that the realism in the law of literature and the realism in creative methods are not only related to each other but can also be distinguished from each other.

The reason that he is said to have contradicted himself is because he had previously said: "(It is necessary) to transform and develop the original realistic creative mode." (Here it should be the "naturalistic" creative mode or the creative mode of other mechanical theories of reflection.) "Deepen the realistic spirit, turn the closed realistic structure into an open realistic structure, and pay attention to absorbing the creative experiences of other realistic structures in the world (such as magic realism, psychological realism, and structural realism). It is also necessary to view and examine reality with a modern outlook and explain reality with a modern concept so as to modernize the "realism," and so on. How can such a "realism" that is restricted only to the

"direct reflection and copy" of the realistic life be suddenly turned into one that contains so many "modern concepts"? It is impossible to put a jar of wine into a small wine pot. Does it mean that the original capacity of the "realism" in the mind of Comrade Liu Zaifu is restricted only to the "direct reflection and imitation" of reality?

The truth of Comrade Liu Zaifu's logical contradiction is that he first assumes realism to be naturalism, or a certain mechanical theory of reflection, a strange thing that is isolated from modern outlooks and modern concepts, and then forces such a strange thing to carry out the "transformation and development," which is beyond its capacity.

The reason that he is said to have confused the two intentions of realism, which are not only related but also distinguishable, is because as the law of literature, realism is a fundamental law that not only contains and controls all literary phenomena, but also restricts all creative methods. In this sense, Engels demanded the proletariat to occupy a position in realism, namely, to occupy a position in literature. In other words, the law of realism is the general coordinate of all literary phenomena, and its typified demand brings to light profound social relations and the truth of the history of mankind, including the truth of the spiritual world of mankind, and places the common demand for the reproduction of aesthetic standards on all literary creative methods. To what extent the demand can be met is the criterion for judging the standard of various literary works and the standard of the creative methods applied in the various literary works. To this end, realism was, is, and will always be the "norm" which "accepts all the creative methods." And this is also true of the "subject" theory and the "character composition theory" advocated by Comrade Liu Zaifu, whose main philosophy is a combination of the ideological and dialectical philosophies of Kant, Nietzsche, and Hegel, with the mechanism in physics (mathematical and physical modes). The Marxist law of realism is doubtlessly so open that it can contain all present and future ideological trends and methods which are of scientific value. Realism and "modern concepts" have never been two categories which contradict each other.

As a creative method, realism is the one which can best embody the Marxist law of realism, more correctly and proportionally express the life of mankind, including the spiritual world of mankind, and be able to overcome the various deviations, such as constantly pursuing people's psychology and irrational self-expression and distorting reality, and so on. Because writers have different talents, characters, educational backgrounds, standards of self-restraint, life experiences, concepts of value, aesthetic standards, and live in different environments, and have different internal and external conditions, it is impossible and incorrect to force all writers to follow realistic creative methods. Here, things are just as Comrade Liu Zaifu has said, "Realism and non-realism have therefore been operating on two rails at the same time." Moreover, over the past decades in China, because of the restrictions of external conditions, realism has not been able to have a chance to "operate." It seems that only non-realism has been able to operate, in the name of "realism," on a single rail in the fields of literary creation and literary theory. This is what Comrade Liu Zaifu has emotionally termed "a bleak and desolate literary era." However, quite unexpectedly, Comrade Liu Zaifu has put the blame on realism, which has actually been abandoned. This has made people cry: "It is unfair."

As for "magic realism," "psychological realism," and so on, we had better listen to the opinion of the Austrian writer Stefan Zweig, one of the outstanding realistic writers of this century. In his letter to his publisher, he condemned calling him a writer of "psychological realism" as "nonsense." In fact, his condemnation could also have been applied to "critical realism," "socialist realism" and so on. The reason for this was that capitalist society could not tolerate any outdated terms and because the publishers wanted to acquire new terms for their advertisements to make their books look more attractive.

However, we should respect Comrade Liu Zaifu's continued efforts to explore new theories and methods. What we feel sorry for is that Comrade Liu Zaifu has been too enthusiastic about the abstract ideological style of classical German philosophy, which has made him deviate somewhat from Marxist dialectics, which advocates a step-by-step process from the abstract to the concrete. Fundamentally speaking, his unclear understanding of Marxist realism was founded on such a basis. Marx was against the abstract ideological philosophy. We all know that Marx only purposely "played with" the abstract ideological philosophy when he poked fun at Hegel's practice of forcing teachers to learn from their students.

#### On Humanism

While adopting a rough and disdainful attitude towards realism, Comrade Liu Zaifu's affirmation of humanism was timid and concessive, and compromised out of consideration for the general interest (or not for the general interest). In the last paragraph of his recently published article, he made "three points in defence of humanism," but rather weakly. This is also quite different from his literary subject ideology.

The first point of his defence is that "humanism is not backward." The second point of his defence is to sum up humanism as "love," saying that "it is necessary to develop the meaning of love as a linguistic symbol." The third point of his defence is that "humanism is just the natural content of literature," on which Comrade Liu Zaifu showed his relatively perfect assurance. However, because of his weakness on the first two points, this third point appears to be a little more than empty talk.

The disputes over humanism have been a major issue in China's ideological field over the past few years, but so far, it seems that no one has ever come forward to claim that thorough humanism is communism, or more correctly, that humanism is an aspect of communism. Through the ages, there has never been a serious, just, and reasonable cause which does not respect mankind and serve the happiness of mankind. In actual fact, in the category of ethics, humanism emerged at the very beginning of human society, and each revolution develops the spirit of humanism to a different extent, according to the amount of contribution it makes to the liberation of mankind. During the Renaissance, representatives of the ideology of the rising city states advertised humanism as a social ideal, and this was actually the awakening of mankind. However, owing to the limitations of the bourgeoisie itself, the ideals and behavior of the bourgeoisie could only result in the realization of a limited humanism that still contained the compassionate nature of the pre-medieval religious doctrine, which proceeded

from conscience and the best of intentions, which Marx called the "Romantic viewpoint." Constantly polluted by material gains and losses in social relations, such a solemn viewpoint has had a hypocritical nature. For this reason, Marx put the liberation of all mankind, namely humanism on the scientific basis of historical materialism, to enable humanism to not only become something in the ethical category and the social ideal but also become a natural need of mankind which not only can but will be realized. The theory of communism and the socialist revolution is aimed at the eventual realization of perfect humanism through a scientific method.

Therefore, the question here is not the one Comrade Liu Zaifu claimed, that "humanism is not backward." It is a question of our still lagging behind humanism and the necessity for making efforts to achieve the thorough realization of humanism step by step. What Comrade Liu Zaifu has so far pursued is only the limited humanism realized in the Western countries--however, we have not yet even been able to achieve the thorough realization of such limited humanism. This situation lags far behind the wish for the "restoration of human nature" expressed in his "Literary Subject." This is another logical contradiction.

Since the 1950's, the ever-growing "Leftist" ideology has handed over humanism to the Western capitalist countries. During the 10-year catastrophe, brutishness was further developed, and humanism, together with realism, was abandoned in literature. Therefore, when summing up literature over the past 10 years, we should not only say that humanism "is not backward" in a cowardly and beggarly way, but should also sternly condemn those theories which suppress the call for humanism and expose the practices of distorting the meaning of humanism and reducing humanism, which consists of nearly every lofty ideal, to mere social relief, such as healing the wounded and rescuing the dying. Only by doing all these things can we conform with the mentality that says, "Humanism is one of the natural contents of literature." It is absolutely inappropriate for Comrade Liu Zaifu to compare the hesitant Westerners' search for the Taoist culture and the Confucian culture to our call for humanism. What the Westerners are searching for is a kind of past culture from which they can only draw reference, while humanism (here referring to the humanism under capitalism), to us is not only a lesson to be made up by a country that has not yet ideologically eliminated the feudal influence, but is also the fundamental intention of the communism to be realized by a socialist country in the future.

Because Comrade Liu Zaifu has ignored the fact that humanism is one aspect of communism and failed to regard the thorough realization of humanism as having the same historical necessity as the realization of communism, he has therefore interpreted humanism as a pointless "love." Although he referred to the remarks that "the fundamental source of creation is love," which were originally made by Lu Xun in terms of right and wrong, and love and hatred in the fierce social struggle, there is no clear-cut line of demarcation, and so the "love" is a kind of unclarified "extensive love." This kind of love is just what Marx criticized in "The Poverty of Philosophy," calling it the "universal love" advocated by the "perfect humanitarian school." Marx thought that this kind of theory was only "idealized reality," namely, romanticism at the mercy of conscience and good intentions. Such a humanism is only the limited bourgeois humanism. This fact has provided some people with a cause for gossip, although they have turned a blind eye to the fact that even the bourgeois humanism has not yet been fully realized in today's China.



The spirit of humanism is actually one of the basic contents of the law of realism. Because of this, Comrade Liu Zaifu said "Humanism is just one of the basic contents of literature," which is quite true. It is a pity that Comrade Liu Zaifu's understanding of both humanism and realism is not based upon Marxist science. One can easily see through this without referring to any profound theories or quoting any authoritative works.

I respect the explorations carried out by Comrade Liu Zaifu over the past few years. No doubt, it is because I respect truth more that I would like to exchange some views with him in this article.

Shanghai, 15 September

Appendix: This article was written several days after Comrade Liu Zaifu's article was published. In order to exchange views with Comrade Liu Zaifu and get the views of the readers, this article was sent to the special edition of a Shanghai daily called ZHENGMIN. After a cold treatment for 2 months, the article was finally retrieved. However, because the delay has not helped to solve the question, I here present this unchanged article to the readers.

The night of 12 November

/12232

CSO: 4005/360

SOCIALIST HUMANISM SEEN AS INTEGRAL ASPECT OF MARXISM

OW180902 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 12 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by Xue Dezhen: "Socialism and Humanism"]

[Text] China's socialist system was established after the inhuman old society was militantly condemned.

"Down with the man-eating old society!"

"We were cattle and horses before, we want to be human now!"

Without doubt, such simple but soul-stirring slogans from the masses' mouths were revolutionary as well as humanist slogans.

The slogan--fight for democracy, liberty, equality, and people's rights--that our party put forward during the democratic revolutionary period under the guidance of basic Marxist theories and after serious theoretical consideration was imbued with a profound humanist spirit.

Ideological condemnation went hand in hand with condemning by arms, but the former was the prerequisite of the latter. If the old society's "man-eating" nature and all other inhuman crimes were not thoroughly exposed and condemned by ideological means and public opinion, then mobilizing vast numbers of laboring people to take up arms to condemn the old society and die for the cause would be unthinkable. Of course, if all we could do was to condemn the old society ideologically without condemning it with arms, then such a condemnation would have been anemic and impotent.

In our propaganda openly conducted during the democratic revolutionary period, our party relentlessly condemned the "man-eating" old society. Moreover, the ideological education it conducted within the revolutionary contingent, and its work to mobilize people to fight--such as the campaign to encourage people to pour out their grievances against the old society and reactionaries--were also highly touching.

The work of exposing and condemning the old society's "man-eating" nature proceeded simultaneously with and supported the work of helping people understand the new society in which they could enjoy freedom, happiness, democracy, equality,

and a new people-to-people relationship characterized by mutual love among comrades. If all we did was to accuse and expose the inhuman atrocities in the old society without aspiring to and fighting for a new people-to-people relationship in our new society, then such an exposure would accomplish nothing but cheap sympathy and preaching void of substance.

If we briefly review the history of China's democratic revolution, we spontaneously obtain this conclusion: China's brand new socialist system was established after the old society's "man-eating" nature was condemned ideologically and with arms.

The humanist slogans of the democratic revolutionary period were indeed highly effective in calling people to arms. While people can readily agree with this viewpoint, more often than not they maintain that those slogans were simply a strategy required by the revolutionary war years, but that, fundamentally speaking, Marxism is absolutely incompatible with humanism. (Methodologically speaking, this way of separating theory from facts goes against basic Marxist theory, but we will not discuss this issue at this time.) People who make such an assertion often quote long passages from the works of Marxist masters to prove their point. What is our view?

Indeed, the founders of Marxism have time and again criticized the sermons about humanism given by bourgeoisie, utopian socialists, and utopian communists. However, if we thoroughly explore the works of Marx and Engels, and examine whether they have completely and simplistically written off humanism, or have amended or abandoned it through a positive approach, it is not hard for us to obtain a scientific conclusion.

Although humanism was systematized by bourgeois thinkers when the bourgeoisie was becoming more enlightened, humanism was not "patented" by them. When human society became a class society in which people were enslaved by people, humanist thinking came into being, existed, and developed as an antithesis to animalism and theism that had appeared in that society. Moreover, humanist thinking did not simply appear in the works and thinkings of bourgeois or proletarian thinkers, but is still developing. Let us forget for the time being the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin; all we need to do now is to remind people to read the works of Gorky and Liu Xun and they will have the whole picture. Thus, instead of being the private property of the bourgeoisie, humanism is a crystal of thought of human civilization as a whole, and a spiritual wealth owned by all of humanity, or could have even simplistically discredited and written it off.

Discussing the relationship between communism and humanism in his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," Marx tells us that practical humanism is spawned from the communist demand of forsaking private property, namely human property essential to real human life. In other words, communism considers the forsaking of private property as intermediary humanism. ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 174)

Now let us look at how thinking developed in the mature works of Marx and Engels.

Discussing the future society in his article "On the Nationalization of Land" published by the INTERNATIONAL HERALD on 15 June 1872, Marx pointed out: Nationalization of land will completely change the relationship between labor and capital, and in the final analysis will completely wipe out the capitalist mode of production in industry and agriculture. By that time, class differences and special privileges will vanish along with the economic foundation upon which their existence relies. Existence by means of other people's work will be eradicated. Nationwide centralization of the means of production will become the foundation of a society made up of associations of free and equal producers, who will voluntarily engage in social labor in accordance with a common and rational plan. Marx then concluded: "This will be a humane [ren dao 0086 6670] goal charted by the great economic movement of the 19th century." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 18, p 67) There is another noteworthy point here. Although the term "humane" was deleted in the draft, it was reinstated in the published article. This shows that its use had been carefully deliberated.

In their "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Marx and Engels described the future society as follows: "Substituting for the old bourgeois society where there are classes and class antagonism will be a union in which each individual's free development is the condition of the free development of all." Several decades later, in January 1894 when (Carnap) asked Engels to find a passage from his works for the soon-to-be-published weekly, THE NEW ERA, to express the basic idea of the future new era, Engels replied: "I could not find a more appropriate passage than the following one that I have taken from the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party.'" What Engels found was the incisive exposition we have just quoted. ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 189) This theme, which contains profound humanist thinking, has reappeared time and again in many works by Marx and Engels. In "Das Kapital," for example, Marx repeatedly pointed out that a future communist society "will take the social form which considers each individual's full and free development as its basic principle," and its ultimate goal is to "create people having the capacity for all-out development." Its production will be one which is controlled and regulated by the people, and which is most worthy of and most compatible with their human nature. ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 649; and Vol 25, pp 926-927) in 1880 Marx reiterated that in the future society the anarchical situation in production would be eliminated, and man would eventually become the master of his own social union, thus becoming the master of nature and the master of himself--a free man. ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 18, p 247) in 1887 Marx emphasized once again that "our purpose is to build a socialist system that will provide all people with healthy and useful jobs, full material lives and ample leisure time, and genuine and ample freedom." ("Complete Works of Marx And Engels," Vol 21, p 570)

Enough. There is no need for us to quote any more because we can say all Marxist expositions about communist are imbued with lofty humanist ideas and the two great thinkers' boundless solicitude for the proletariat, all those who were enslaved, and the emancipation and happiness of all mankind. Let us just think what Marxism would look like if we delete from it all humanist ideas, such as attention to human value, concern for human dignity, pursuit of human freedom, care for human fate, longing for human happiness, discussion of human

emancipation, and aspiration for all-out human development. It will be totally unrecognizable! If, in addition to deleting all those ideas, we also go all out to condemn humanism, categorically refuse to acknowledge that there is any positive humanist thinking in Marxism, and assert that Marxism is theoretically opposed to humanism, then why has such as "ism" won the faith and support of vast numbers of people?

However, how should one interpret Marx' and Engels' sharp criticism of humanism? In fact, there is nothing abstruse in them. The answer to this question is apparent if one understands in what sense, or toward what kind of humanism, the criticism was directed.

Criticism of the German "genuine" socialists' super-class "love-for-all" humanism, of the ethical socialism which regards socialism as an abstract moral concept and its goal and ideal as realization of Kant's "moral perfection" alienated from class and reality, of the humanism of dreamers of socialism who wish to realize socialism not through class struggle, but through propaganda to enlighten the bourgeoisie and through model experiments, and of Feuerbach who advocated use of "love" to achieve human liberation are, in a nutshell, empty moral discussions of humanism. In an attempt to realize their so-called "socialist ideals" through moral education of the bourgeoisie, this criticism totally negates the need for class struggle by the proletariat to eliminate private ownership. It is precisely in this sense that Marx and Engels criticized such discussions as "deception" and "dreamers' talks." In exposing and criticizing such moral discussions, Marx and Engels did not, in principle, simply write off and jettison the ideal of humanism--a crystallization of mankind's progressive thinking--but included it in the communist ideal, while emphatically pointing out that only through social revolution, that is, by waging class struggle and exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat to eliminate private ownership, can the noble ideal be realized.

People who are ignorant of the relationship between class struggle and humanism allege that humanism will inevitably lead to abandoning class struggle. They hardly realize that their understanding still remains in the same den as the humanism advocated by some bourgeoisie and dreamers of socialism. People with a small talent for dialectic thinking will immediately realize that class struggle and humanism are not diametrically opposed because class struggle by the proletariat is not an aimless struggle. Its goals are to topple the exploitative inhuman old society and to establish a new socialist society, in which people are no longer "jackals and wolves to each other" and their relations are characterized by equality, unity, fraternity, and mutual assistance.

In this sense, socialist humanism should be a fundamental characteristic of the socialist system established by the proletariat after eliminating private ownership through class struggle. In toppling the exploitative old society and building a new society, we should not rely on moral discussions of humanism. According to the Marxist view, since human beings are created by society, it is of primary importance to build a society that meets the needs of human development; and since society is composed of and transformed by human beings, it is necessary to constantly portray new people building a new society in the spirit of socialist humanism. In light of this Marxist view, socialist humanism can never be separated from the building of a new society and portrayal of new people.

The above is a summary of the role of socialist humanism in China's democratic revolution, as well as its relationship with the socialist system. Following is a discussion of its role in building socialist spiritual civilization.

Society is a structure and form of the time and space of human activities. It is the sum of human activities and their results within a given time and space. People can observe society from historical or contemporary aspects [lishi tai huo gongshi tai 2980 2514 1966 2057 0364 2514 1966]. However, in either aspect, it is necessary to observe from an angle both historical and of value, observing the "pattern" of every social form in historical development, as well as studying the "use" of every social form to people, that is, its value. As the historical angle is easier to comprehend, I do not want to discuss it here, but concentrate on the question of value.

In fact, appraising value constantly occurs between man and society. Society asks man: "What have you contributed and what is your value to society?" Man asks society: "Do you suit the needs of my development and what valuable things do you provide for my development?" As a matter of fact, both "i" and "society" are composed of man. When they appraise each other's value, it is actually a value appraisal between men. Here "i" exists in the form of a subject and an individual, while "society" exists in the form of an object and a collective. In real life, "society" is usually represented by the leaders or leading groups of the collectives. Therefore, the relationship is often between those who are led and those who lead. The individual "i" often demands that society (the collective and the leaders) be of value to "me," while society (the collective and the leaders) demands that individuals--all members of the society--be of value to the society.

The view of value is affected by the status and interest of a class, and people of different classes make different appraisals. In a socialist society, people fundamentally share the same interest. However, in real life, there may be differences or even contradictions in specific interests among different strata, groups, and individuals; and their criteria for appraising value may also be different. For this reason, in a socialist society like ours, people have both common criteria and different criteria for appraising value. What the leaders or leading groups should seriously consider is that their value lies in their action to create those natural and social environments more suitable to all-around and free development of all members of society. The individuals should not consider the creative action none of their business but should take part in it. Moreover, when they seek freedom, happiness, democracy, equality, dignity, rights, and interests for themselves, they should not infringe upon such things of others. The leaders, as representatives of the collective and society, should not regard themselves as the bosses of all individuals, but as part of the individuals enjoying no special privileges, and accept supervision by all members of society. The individuals should not be passive spectators by giving up their right to be the principal part--the masters--of society.

Under socialism, we should loudly point out man's role as master of society. We often say that man belongs to society and society belongs to man. While personalizing the natural world, mankind also constantly personalizes itself. Personalization also means constant socialization. This is why Marxism

particularly emphasizes man's social character and especially attaches importance to strengthening man's sense of socialization. Then what are man's social character and sense of socialization? They mainly deal with man's role as the master and perception of being the master. It is man's role as the master and consciousness of being the master that separate him from other animals, and separate human society from animal communities. Therefore, if man's role as the master and sense of being the master are ignored, man will lose his personality and be of little difference from animals. In this way, society will lose its human character and be more like animal communities.

Some people are very much worried by others' emphasis on man as the principal part of society and his sense of being such. Those people allege that such stress may lead to out-and-out egoism. This is a very big misunderstanding and reversal of the relations between a cause and its effect. By emphasizing man as the principal part of society and his sense of being such, we precisely aim at strengthening man's social character and his sense of socialization [ren di shehuixing he shehuihua yishi 0086 4104 4357 2585 1840 0735 4357 2585 0553 1942 6221]. Only when people conscientiously realize that they are principal parts of society will they be conscientiously responsible for all their actions. Stressing man as the principal part of society and his sense of being such is aimed precisely at strengthening people's sense of social responsibility, and nothing else. We often say that the people are masters of socialist society, and their status as such is explicitly stipulated in the constitution. However, if people fail to foster a sense of being a principal part of society, they will not be able to really establish their status as masters of society.

Marxist theory of man as the principal part of society is an important theoretical basis for socialist humanism. Humanism is a major achievement in the development of human spiritual civilization and the precious spiritual wealth of mankind. Through criticism and transformation, Marx assimilated humanism into the lofty ideal of transforming a society through social revolution and realizing socialist and communism in the world; this is an important content of a new type of socialist spiritual civilization, which absolutely must not be wantonly swept away as garbage. As yet there has been no "spiritual civilization" opposing humanism in human history. If opposing humanism is also described as "spiritual civilization," people absolutely will not want such "civilization." Has mankind not suffered enough from it? People will not easily forget the great disaster caused by the "Cultural Revolution" during its 10 years. In those years, humanism was frenziedly attacked, and people's sense of being an integral part of society was destroyed. What did this lead to? It led to rampant barbarianism and acts opposing humanism, civilization, democracy, freedom, and science. Did all of this bring glory to socialism and Marxism, or shame? The conclusion is that the latter is the case. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has set things to rights, restored the humanistic nature of the socialist system, made every possible effort to develop the social productive forces, always regarded meeting the needs of the people's material and cultural life as its basic task, and created an increasingly strong material foundation for the complete emancipation and freedom of man. It is obvious to all that this has played a tremendous role in mobilizing the broad masses of people to work in unity for socialist modernization. Both positive and negative experiences show us that Marxism must have its

own humanism. The "Resolution on the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee explicitly affirms socialist humanism as an important aspect in the building of socialist spiritual civilization, thus taking an important step in setting things to rights theoretically. This is bound to make it possible for Marxism to play an ever bigger guiding role in the drive for socialist modernization.

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LIAOWANG RECOMMENDS JUDGING CADRES BY PERFORMANCE

HK170444 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 49, 8 Dec 86 pp 4-5

["Liaowang Forum" by Shi Boahua (2057 1405 5478): "Cadres Are To Be Judged by Their Performance"]

[Text] In the reform of the cadre system, many young and middle-aged cadres have been promoted to leading posts at various levels. Many of them may have pondered the question of how to gain high prestige among the masses and win their support and trust.

This is very natural. High prestige and the masses' support and trust are important conditions for leading cadres in performing their duties.

How do the leading cadres win the support and trust of the masses? Should they win this support and trust by means of their power and through some other people's flattery, or should they win this support and trust through serving the people sincerely and wholeheartedly and through their sound performance in promoting reform and construction? The answer is, of course, the latter, and not the former.

Sound performance here refers to the outstanding achievements made by leading cadres in their official careers and the good deeds they have done for the people. Of course, the achievements and the good deeds may differ from one person to another, and when one has done something wrong or something evil one may even render a "bad performance." The performance of a leading cadre is the basis for judging his knowledge, ability, and style of thinking. It is also the basis for the people to comment on his achievements and errors as well as his gains and losses and to decide whether they should support and trust him. Both in ancient and modern times, many leaders who have made outstanding achievements in their official careers are praised by the people. Lin Zexu won eternal glory by his heroic feat of banning opium-smoking and opium trading; and Dr Sun Yat-sen has been respected for generations because of his spirit of fearing no setbacks and because he led the people to overthrow the autocratic rule of the Qing Dynasty. The veteran revolutionaries of our party have been loved and trusted by the people due to their magnificent contributions in the long course of revolution and construction. At present, many new leaders in various localities, departments, and enterprises have won praise from the masses due to their outstanding contributions in reform and construction.

If we pay attention to what has happened in this respect, we find that the most spectacular performances are breakthroughs in one's specific work and those achievements which help the people solve their urgent problems, promote the development of their undertakings, and bring real benefits to them. Therefore, if a new leader wants to make outstanding achievements in his new post, he must thoroughly investigate and study his own area and unit and, in accordance with the party's policies and principles, grasp several urgent matters which can help him make a breakthrough. Usually, these matters are the "long-standing, big, and difficult problems" or "hornet's nests" of his area and unit. He has to make great efforts in order to solve these problems and even take risks. Thus, to strive for better results, the new leading cadres are required to press forward in the face of difficulties, share the comforts and hardships of the masses, and set a good example for them. In this way, the masses will be able to examine and appraise them through practice and through their performances. If they really make great efforts and devote themselves to their duties selflessly and have really made outstanding achievements in their work, the masses will certainly have faith in them and support them, and they will naturally gain high prestige among the masses.

In order to make outstanding achievements, leading cadres must also have the spirit of doing concrete work. Some people do not have this spirit. They often try to find a "shortcut" without making any effort. Soon after they are promoted to leading posts, they begin to look for some easy but yet "spectacular" jobs to do, leaving aside reform, construction, and all important matters concerning the urgent needs of the broad masses of people and trying to make themselves famous with a single brilliant feat. Some others are fond of doing superficial work, practicing fraud, and indulging in boasting and exaggeration. As a matter of fact, these are not "shortcuts," but crooked ways and dishonest practices. This should not occur, because they only incur the resentment of the masses. Moreover, if cadres act this way, their prestige can only be lowered rather than enhanced.

The method of examining leading cadres must also be improved. The past method of merely relying on the people's opinions and impressions must be changed into a scientific system of democratic appraisal based on the cadres' performances. It is necessary to carry out an overall examination of every leading cadre, to see how he or she is implementing relevant policies in the leading post, what achievements he or she has made, and what his or her style of thinking is. It is also necessary to listen to the masses' opinions. The leading cadres of enterprises must also be examined by audit departments.

We are now in a new period of reform and construction. In this period, we have lots of things to do. Provided the new cadres are modest and prudent, implement the party's line, policies, and principles in a realistic manner, study hard, and dare to make advances, they will surely make outstanding achievements and render excellent performances praised by the people.

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LIAOWANG ON IMPARTIALITY IN CADRE WORK

HK230919 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 49, 8 Dec 86 p 21

["Short Commentary" by Liao Zheng (1675 2398): "Talking About Withdrawal"]

[Text] There is an article concerning withdrawal contained in our country's criminal procedure law to the effect that if a person who handles a case is a close relative of a party to the case, or if he himself has an interest in the case, he should withdraw from handling the case. The measure serves two purposes: to ensure fair handling of the case and avoid substituting personal emotions for the law, and to avoid arousing suspicion about the person handling the case and to protect him as a judicial personnel.

We follow a similar tradition in our party's cadre policy. A party and government cadre must do his best not to work in the same unit or department as his relatives. The reason is very simple: 1. To avoid making no distinction between public and private interests; 2. To avoid arousing suspicion.

For example, during the land reform in 1948, the central authorities made it a rule that generally speaking, cadres should not take part in the land reform in their former areas or villages. Many revolutionaries of the older generation sent their children to work in grass-roots units or places where conditions were hard, so that they would receive training and experience trials as did other revolutionary youths. Some of our revolutionaries particularly urged their children to set a higher and stricter demand on themselves.

However, such a fine tradition of our party was severely undermined during the "Great Cultural Revolution." As a result, there were many "small shops run by husbands and wives." "When a man gets to the top, all his friends and relatives get there with him." Some people went so far as to do everything possible to arrange for their wives, children, and relatives to work in units under them. Some people abused their power to seek private gains for their wives, children, and relatives. All these things happened from time to time. If you do not believe what I tell you, I will give you some other examples: In a certain place, the leading cadre arranged for his wife and all his children to work in [a] unit directly administered by him. In a certain county, there were seven members of the county CPC committee standing committee, six of whom were related by marriage. In a certain unit, one-third of the leading cadres had ties of kinship.

Due to our efforts to straighten things out in recent years, this phenomenon is occurring less frequently. However, it still exists, and has not yet been completely eradicated. This will cause great trouble and harm the work of the party and government. The first harm is that people will make no distinction between public and private interests. The second harm is that it will be difficult for us to handle matters impartially. One feels it difficult to handle things if kinship is involved. Other people feel the same. The third harm is that it will not be helpful to promoting democracy. When your relatives are around you, other cadres and masses do not dare express their opinions and speak out freely. The fourth harm is that it will encourage the evil trends and provide convenience for those who seek private gains.... Of course, I could cite still other examples, such as blocking the progress of cadres' relatives, children, and so on. In a word, the masses have many complaints about all this.

Did Comrade Mao Zedong not bitterly accuse those who "let their wives become heads of their own offices?" He perceived the harmfulness of this practice. Should our leading cadres at all levels not pay attention to this problem? Let us take the problem of "avoiding working in one's native place" as an example. A county party secretary or county magistrate should avoid holding any post in his native county to avoid interference by relatives and good friends, which would adversely affect the progress of his work. A cadre should also "avoid his relatives." In other words, his wife, children, and relatives should not work in a unit directly administered by him. A cadre should also avoid "being suspected." He should avoid having a hand in any dispute involving his relatives, and let other people handle the case impartially.... In so doing, we will substantially reduce the defects in our work.

In Chinese history, some men of insight proposed the ideas of "avoiding relatives," "avoiding working one's native place," "avoiding working in area 800 li within one's native place," and so on. However, in feudal society, the "land under heaven" belonged to the emperor. It was actually difficult for an official to avoid meddling in the above-mentioned affairs. At present, people have become the masters of their own affairs, and cadres are public servants. We ought to do still better in this regard.

The method employed on a trial basis by Guangdong Province regarding to the withdrawal of relatives of party and government leading cadres and the prevention of localism is beneficial to correcting the defects of our times. Since there is much in the method that we can make use of, it is worth using as a reference.

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WENZHAI BAO ON TODAY'S UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

HK180922 Beijing WENZHAI BAO in Chinese No 372, 11 Dec 86 p 4

[Article from "Image Designs of University Students of Today--notes on the Mass Discussion on Tianjin University Campus" edited by Cao Ruifeng (2580 4213 6912) and published by Shanghai People's Publishing House: "Dialogue of Three University Students"]

[Text] A: Returning from my summer vacation in my hometown, what I feel most strongly is that the people in the south are very rich. While we have been concentrating on books in closed classrooms, the concepts of the people in the south have changed greatly. In my home village, the most popular persons are those households who can earn 10,000 yuan a year, rather than the poor students like me "returning home with honors." My middle-school classmates who failed the college entrance examination have all become rich. Notwithstanding that some of them scored over 100 points less than I did in the college entrance exams, they have now all realized their family "four modernizations." My elder brother also persuaded me to leave school and go into business with him because when I graduate from the university at the age of 22 after 15 years in school, I will only be able to earn 56 yuan per month. The more years I spend in school, the less I will earn compared to those who do not attend school at all. What exactly is the value of university students?

Although the party's policy is to make the people rich, how many people are there who really honestly rely on their ability and knowledge to become 10,000-yuan households? Many of them have become rich only by taking advantage of the fact that the policies are not sound. However, in society the role of knowledge, the diploma, and so on is not as great as the role of money. With money, even illiterate persons are able to do things which professors are unable to do. How else would you explain the fact that people who cannot read a single word have become 10,000-yuan households, while knowledgeable old professors remain penniless?

B: What you said just now are only temporary phenomena of the process of reform in our country, which will gradually disappear along with the readjustment of prices and the development of the economy. A process is needed to change from money to knowledge, and the people need time to understand this. Undoubtedly, during the transition from a backward agricultural country to an industrial society and then to an information society, knowledge will become

more and more important. However, at present, as money can bring some real benefits to the people, while knowledge seems to be something remote, some short-sighted people will only pay attention to money. As they have not yet recognized the importance of knowledge, university students, who represent knowledge, are naturally not as popular as 10,000-yuan households.

Of course, there is also an objective reason for the university students to seem less important than the 10,000-yuan households: because the development of production needs capital and technology, only the 10,000-yuan households can provide the former. Although university students should be able to provide the latter, they can hardly bring into play their proper roles as a result of the present closed educational system, which provides university students with few opportunities to practice. Compounded with objective factors, such as being unable to put what they have learned into practice, arranging positions according to seniority, and so on, their abilities to adapt themselves to new circumstances and to work on their own are also poor. Besides, as some university students tend to think no end of themselves, blindly profess to be above politics and worldly considerations, and do not want to work together with workers, people have gotten the impression that university students are useless.

C: Nowadays when economic levers are abused everywhere, we university students just cannot accept this kind [of] view of generalizing our value to an economic value. In fact, the concept of value itself reflects the social relations between the people and is inseparable from morality and ethics. Compared with the university students of the 1950's and 1960's, whose main standard of value was collectivism, we cannot deny that our concept of value in the 1980's after the 10 years of turmoil contains noticeably more elements of "egosim."

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DEPUTY MINISTER OF CULTURE ON CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Hong Kong LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese No 51, 22 Dec 86  
pp 32-34

[Article by Yin Jindi [3009 6855 1229]: "Deputy Minister of Culture Gao Zhanxiang [7559 0594 4382] Talks on Strategy for China's Cultural Development"]

[Text] Discussion on cultural development has become a fad following the upsurge in China's economic construction. Since the discussion began in Shanghai last year, more than 10 provinces and cities have held similar discussions with scholars, specialists and practical workers participating. The question of a strategy for cultural development that is compatible with the economic development was studied from a long-range and overall point of view. Recently, the Ministry of Culture held a "National Meeting for Discussion of Strategy for Cultural Development" in Xiamen. The discussion was thus raised to a national level and given even greater attention.

Deputy minister of culture, Gao Zhanxiang had his own views. He held that "the strategic idea has now developed from scratch to a new stage of combination of strategy with tactics, that is, the stage in which the results of our study in cultural strategy should be used for its practice and implementation. He continued: Strategy is macroscopic in nature, while tactics are something concrete. Strategy guides tactics, while tactics serve strategy. Without strategy, we will remain passive like "people having constant worries for the lack of a long-range plan." However, if we have only strategy without tactics, all the grand visions we talk about cannot help us solve problems, and will fail to materialize. Therefore, he said: "The leaders in cultural work should be not only strategists, but also practical workers."

Culture as the Core of Spiritual Civilization

Gao Zhanxiang said: First, we must recognize the strategic position occupied by culture in spiritual civilization development: Culture is the core, the embodiment, and the foundation stone of spiritual civilization. Without a foundation stone, we cannot build any mansion. In the past, we only stressed economy as the foundation of culture, but overlooked the role of culture as the vanguard of economic development. He said that there are at least 10

factors which must be considered and studied in cultural development, namely, the deliberations over cultural development, the perfection of cultural policy, the reform of the cultural system, the build-up of a cultural force, the business transactions in cultural activities, the management of the cultural market, the improvement of cultural facilities, the layout of cultural networks, the reorganization of art troupes, and the development of cultural exchange. These factors belong to different categories concerning different levels as well as internal and foreign issues and are not universally applicable. Therefore, we must have an overall cultural concept.

#### New Cultural Concept as a "Sail"

Gao Zhanxiang believed that an updated concept is of prime importance in cultural development. He said: The torrents of the all-around reform are now pounding at the old ideas, old cultural concepts, old customs and old habits, and are urging people to look for or to form new ideological and cultural concepts, including the concept of opening to the outside world culturally, and the concepts of cultural market, cultural business, and cultural competition, that are compatible with the commodity economy and the political structural reform. He graphically likened the strategy for cultural development to a ship, and the new cultural concept to its sail, because the new cultural concept can propel the ship of cultural development forward. He said: "The deliberations and discussions on strategy that go along with the currents of economic development and the reform are the natural outcome of social development at the present stage."

On the subject of opening to the outside world culturally, Gao Zhanxiang said: Opening to the outside world is a basic unalterable state policy, and opening to the outside world culturally is also a component of this basic state policy. In the past several years, opening to the outside world economically led to opening to the outside world culturally. This must be admitted. However, we must understand that the cultural opening in the previous period was far behind the economic opening, because in the former case, "the cultural door was only ajar." He said: "In cultural opening, the door should be more widely open and the channels should be increased. We should also act more quickly and more boldly. We must actively promote cultural exchange with foreign countries so that the fruits of the spiritual civilization of mankind can be brought into China, while Chinese culture can find its way to the whole world."

Gao Zhanxiang said emphatically: "The old concept that 'culture is not for sale and scholars do not handle money' must be replaced by the market concept." He continued: "Some people are shocked at the mention of 'market' to which they are particularly sensitive. To them, the mention of 'market' and 'commodity' means 'thinking of everything in terms of money.' In fact, the literary and art circles are in need of money instead of thinking of everything in terms of money." He said: "Many people are accustomed to the terms 'cultural position' and 'cultural front,' both being military terms, but are unwilling to use the term cultural market, although this market has become a strategic issue of overall importance in cultural development. We must set up the market concept and send our spiritual products to the market where they will establish their foothold and be examined and evaluated by the consumers."



The superior ones will triumph over and displace the inferior ones, and only the suitable ones can survive. Only thus can there be strong vitality and vigor in our spiritual production, and people can be encouraged to strive for the production of marketable products and to increase their power of struggle for existence.

"There can be no development without competition. If we want to achieve any great development in our cultural activities and our spiritual production, we must advocate, protect, and encourage competition, and strive for their development and prosperity through competition." Gao Zhanxiang held that "elimination" is in a certain sense a good thing showing us certain new developments. There must be continued competition and continued elimination before there can be continued development and continued advance. Competition helps literature and art to flourish. Of course, we only advocate positive competition, or civilized and fair competition, but not competition with deceitful means.

He also said: "Business management should be improved" in cultural activities, because it is a good way to enrich and enliven cultural activities according to the resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee. Socialist commodity economy, as a social environment, has made an unprecedented demands on the cultural leaders: They must open two markets (at home and abroad), and gain two (social and economic) benefits, and master two skills (in literature and art, and management). Because of the defects of "eating from the same pot," our business concept is weak and our management standards is low. They are extremely incompatible with the present commodity society and may seriously hinder our cultural development. If we do not change these traditional and old ideas and form a cultural business concept, we will not be able to meet the requirements of the reform, the open-door policy, and the commodity society.

Since coming to office as deputy minister of culture, Gao Zhanxiang has conducted many investigations and study in the cultural work of Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi, Jilin, and Gansu. He said: "Culture is a tremendous source of wealth. We must carefully exploit and fully utilize it, so that we will not remain poor and passive, even with a golden bowl in hand. The way to exploit cultural resources is to introduce various compensated services, give more performances abroad as a commercial venture, and support culture with culture in different ways so that cultural activities will gradually be 'managed as a business concern, instead of merely serving welfare.'" He said: "The scarcity of managerial personnel in the cultural sector is an urgent problem. We must encourage the cultural cadres to learn something about political economy and cultural management, and the skill of leadership over literature and art to meet the requirements of cultural development in the new period."

#### Focus Our Efforts on Construction

The basic spirit behind the resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session is to focus our efforts on construction. The affirmation of this basic spirit shows that the CPC's philosophy has changed from a "philosophy of predominantly struggle" to a "philosophy of predominantly construction." This great

change has been paid for in blood. Gao Zhanxiang held that a priority task in the present cultural development is to strengthen the cultural force, to set suitable policies, and to expand the facilities and the repertoire.

Training cultural talents and building a cultural force is a basic strategic task with its bearing on the prosperity of socialist literature and art, and the development of socialist culture. Commenting on the cultural force, Gao Zhanxiang said: "It is a contingent of many talents as well as a contingent eagerly awaiting an uplift of its artistic level." In this contingent are many outstanding writers, artists, experts and scholars, but the signs of cultural dearth and low cultural standards universally exist.

A cultural contingent needs cultured people. Gao Zhanxiang pointed out: "The cultural departments must hereafter accept only cultured people and must not let any uncultured people slip through the "cultural gate" into the cultural force."

He said: Strategy provides principles and bases for policies, while policies in turn provides the means and guarantee for strategy. With great enthusiasm, he mentioned that the CPC Central Committee and the State Council leaders were paying very great attention and giving strong support to the formulation and implementation of the cultural policy. While in Xiamen, he visited Putuo Abbey in the Buddhist sacred land where many overseas Chinese and Chinese people were devoutly burning incense as a token of thanks for divine favors. He said: If these people were equally devout in wishing for China's cultural development, they would be doing a very good deed, and their names would be engraved on stone tablets to be remembered by future generations.

He next talked about the way to hold dances as a means of enriching people's cultural life, and mentioned an incongruous sight he witnessed in a dance held in Xiamen's "Overseas Hotel": The dance hall was patrolled by armed policemen, mainly because the cultural department was not in overall charge of the cultural market. We are now consulting the departments concerned for the methods of management to be changed. Dancing is a form of legitimate entertainment which the people can rightfully enjoy. Therefore, the cultural departments should control the dancing parties, and as long as the law is not violated, other departments should not interfere. The cultural departments must control and stimulate the cultural market before their prestige could be enhanced.

Gao Zhanxiang believed that signs of a high regard for cultural facilities have emerged from the central to the local governments. Hu Yaobang and Wan Li [8001 6849] proposed and supported the construction of first-rate Chinese theaters and state libraries; Tianjin Mayor Li Duanhuan [2621 4551 3883] has worked out specific plans for the increase of cultural facilities whereby the municipal government would build a theater for every troupe, in addition to a modern Tianjin people's theater and a library; and Shandong Governor Li Changan [2621 2490 1344] has expressed his desire to build a first-rate music hall of China. On the whole, our cultural foundation is weak, and the facilities are still far short of the requirements for the people's spiritual life. He hoped that people in all walks of life would show their concern for cultural development.

He also hoped that the cadres of cultural departments would be far-sighted in their capacity as strategists as well as practical workers. They must have a good knowledge of policies, understand the people's feelings, know about literature and art, be good at management, develop a new work style, and raise their efficiency.

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CSO: 4005/286

NOTED WRITERS DISCUSS LITERARY ISSUES

HK180805 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 17 Dec 86 p 2

["Special Dispatch" from Beijing by reporter Kung Shuang-yin (7255 7175 0603):  
"The Forbidden Zone, Humanism, and the Publication Law; Notes on an Informal  
Discussion Between Noted Writers and Chinese and Foreign Reporters"]

[Text] Beijing, 16 December--On the afternoon of 16 December, Deng Youmei, Xie Yongwang, Liu Xinwu, Li Guowen, Zhang Jie, Malaqinfu, Li You, Lu Guang, Liu Zhanqiu, and other Chinese writers held an informal discussion with Chinese and foreign reporters on the current literary situation at the All-China Journalists' Association. After WEN YI BAO editor-in-chief Xie Yongwang briefed the participants on the situation in the literature and art circles, the conversation started.

Reporter: Did Wang Meng's appointment as minister have an effect on the literature and art circles?

Xie Yongwang: As a writer, Wang Meng understands the feelings and aspirations of writers.

Reporter: Are there still forbidden zones in current literary creation? What obstacles do writers still encounter?

Deng Youmei: It is difficult to answer this question. The Chinese Writers' Association cannot stipulate which are forbidden zones and which are not. But writers meet with difficulties in the course of writing. When I write, I am aware of the forbidden zones. When I do not write in complimentary terms about people who are still alive, I am quite worried about offending them. Therefore, there is something I want to write about but I find it hard to put pen to paper.

Reporter: Can you cite an example?

Deng: If I write the story of a woman with whom I have had a love affair, at the least I have some misgivings about my wife. Writers should detach themselves from these issues, but it is regrettable that we can't.

Writers Have Misgivings When Putting Pen to Paper

Reporter: What you said happens in other countries as well. Are there forbidden areas peculiar to China?

Li Guowen: I think forbidden areas always exist. As Goethe put it, a great writer always manifests himself despite various restrictions and a courageous writer should be bold in throwing off these restrictions. Nevertheless, I have some misgivings when I write about sensitive political issues.

Reporter: "Half of Man Is Woman" touches upon sex, a forbidden zone. How was the decision made to publish this book?

Xie: Zhang Xianliang at first sent this book to SHOUHUO (HARVEST) magazine in Shanghai. Since the editors held that it was well written and publishable, it was published without censorship. After it was published, some publishing houses expressed their readiness to publish it in book form, and so it was published. According to statistics, three publishing houses have published more than 1 million copies of this book either as separate editions or in collected works. Some critics considered it good and others bad.

Li: All female writers considered it bad.

Xie: Female writer Zhang Xinzin considered it good and wrote an article about it in WEN YI BAO. Another female writer, Wei Junyi, considered it bad and wrote a critical article, also in WEN YI BAO. There has been no interference from government authorities. Zhang Xianliang is still writing in Ningxia. His new medium-length novel deals with middle school students. It also contains descriptions of sex among young people. Zhang holds that the controversy about his works will reach a new high tide next year. Naturally, he is quite pleased with himself.

#### Works on Homosexuality

Reporter: Are there any works about homosexuality?

Xie: We haven't seen any so far.

Liu Zhanqiu: Chinese customs are still about a man loving a woman and vice versa.

Reporter: What's the matter with the discussion on humanism? A few years ago this issue caused trouble and now it does not exist. Is this because it is no longer considered a dangerous ideological issue?

Xie: It goes without saying that humanism can be studied and discussed. This issue was once considered very serious because it was linked to the bourgeois concept. In truth, it is a matter of common concern to human beings. After a period of time, people have calmed down. They do not think humanism is a bad thing. Even if there should be different viewpoints, they are ideological issues and not political ones.

Reporter: Have the relations between humanism and the bourgeois ideology been severed? Is it possible for Marxism to contain humanist viewpoints?

Xie: This is a controversial issue. In my view, humanism is not completely opposed to Marxism.

## Descriptions of Violence and Obscenity

Reporter: Are works about violence, crime, and pornography likely to come into being in China's literary circles?

Liu Xinwu: I am the chief editor of RENMIN WENXUE. It is a serious literary magazine but this does not mean that it publishes only depressing works. It also publishes relaxing and exploratory works, including those dealing with taboo subjects, such as writers' exploratory forays into the topic of sex. Some works published by RENMIN WENXUE are even bolder than Zhang Xianliang's "Half of Man Is Woman." In my view, a writer should make a strict distinction between a serious sex description and a pornographic one. I am worried lest pornographic works should appear. There are now various literary magazines and numerous popular entertainment publications in China. Some of them reflect violence and some are close to pornography. I am opposed to using literature to depict pornographic topics and violence. It is possible to restrict pornographic and violent works within the limits permitted by law. I personally agree with this.

Reporter: What hopes to you entertain for the publication law?

Liu Xinwu: China's publication law will soon be formulated and promulgated. This is a manifestation of China's social progress. I personally hold that the emphasis of the publication law should be placed upon protecting the creative work of writers, and that restrictions on publication should be reduced to a minimum. With the exception of those works harmful to young people reaching puberty, others should not be restricted.

Reporter: The influence of literature on people is weakening. How will you change this situation?

Liu Xinwu: I am also aware that some works have appeared which are difficult for readers in general. This shows that our writers are active in exploring creative forms. Explorations will never be superfluous. However, there are also writers who, while engaging in exploratory undertakings, also persist in attracting more readers. Most readers are concerned about social progress. My magazine is also working hard in this direction. It is hoped that these writers will not be set against those who take no heed of the readers.

## The Phenomenon of Being Divorced from the Readers

Li: Chinese literature has been with the people since the time of Qu Yuan. although there is now the phenomenon of being divorced from the readers, writers with an intuitive knowledge will be able to change this situation quickly.

Li You: There are many reasons contributing to the readers' weakening interest in literature. With the quickening rhythm of life, people's recreational demands have changed. Jin Yong's novel, which depicts the chivalry and prowess of ancient swordsmen, and Qiong Yao's popular romantic novels, now enjoy a large readership. Mainland writers are good at writing serious literature rather than popular literature. I think popular literature will develop in China.

Reporters: Ms Zhang Jie, are your works serious literature or popular literature for entertainment?

Zhang Jie: This question should be answered in a roundabout way. A foreign Sinologist says that my works smack of religion and that I have been aware of my responsibilities since I was born. In my view, a person has to assume responsibilities toward parents, family children, friends, jobs, and society. I have been living in a very impoverished environment since I was a child and I have adopted a hostile attitude toward all injustices, such as the injustices between rich and poor and between men and women, and the unjust treatment of people's dignity. Ever since I was a child, I have been determined to dedicate myself to the cause of eliminating these injustices. I will never balk at any sacrifice.

#### Read Fiction As Fiction

Deng: It is unwise to speak after the vindictive goddess and therefore, I am unlucky today. In my view, the weakening influence of literature on readers is a good thing. A few years ago, literature was placed in an inappropriate position. That was because there was not a fully democratic life at the time and readers looked upon fiction as restricted publications from which they could get some inside news. At that time some responsible persons also looked upon fiction as documents. Mao Zedong remarked that using fiction to oppose the party was a great invention. This forced all novelists to become government spokesmen. Now the readers' letters carried in RENMIN RIBAO discuss issues much more sharply than fiction. There is no need for readers to read fiction now and, therefore, the influence of fiction is diminishing. This situation should be preserved. I hope the readers will really read fiction as fiction. If, one day, someone were to report to a minister that he has been criticized in my novel, and the minister tells him not to bother about it since it is only fiction, I shall be very happy.

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CSO: 4005/360

PAPER ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC DEMOCRACIES

HK191331 Shanghai SHIJIE JINGJI DAobao in Chinese 3 Nov 86 pp 1, 13

[Article by Li Legang (2621 2867 0474), research student specializing in political science at Central Party School: "Only by Promoting Political Democracy Is It Possible To Open Up a Road to Modernization"]

[Text] According to a report in SHIJIE JINGJI DAobao on 6 October, the noted Swiss scholar Lind gave some valuable views on China's political structural reform. I believe that his view, that because a pluralistic economy demands plural political interests and representatives, genuine political democracy will appear only after the realization of economic democracy, is ill-founded.

1. As seen from a historical process of the establishment of democratic systems in the principal Western capitalist countries, the establishment of political democracy occurred first. There was actually no economic democracy under the autocratic system; it was precisely due to the establishment of political democracy that economic democracy emerged. Of course, the realization of economic democracy in turn consolidated political democracy.

2. As seen from developments in our country since the founding of the PRC, it was precisely due to imperfect political democracy and continuous violation of political democracy that the development of economic democracy was seriously hampered. In recent years, however, social production developed quickly and economic life developed toward democratization. This was precisely a result of the impact of a series of political reforms since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the quickening of the process of political democratization.

3. As seen from the relationship between politics and the economy, I hold that we cannot simply and abstractly say which of the two democracies, namely political democracy and economic democracy, was established first. On the whole, political development is naturally related to a particular stage of economic development, and cannot skip a historical stage. But, within a certain scope, concrete analysis should be made according to concrete conditions so as to ascertain which development should come first. As seen from the general social development in China at present, only by vigorously promoting the process of political democratization is it possible to open up a road to modernization.



4. As seen from the foundation of political democracy, China's current level of productive forces and of cultural and educational development is much higher than the level of several hundred years ago, when the bourgeoisie established political democracy. It is, therefore, untenable to say that we still have no foundation for practicing political democracy. As for "plural economic demands," I believe they are always there, even during or before the "cultural revolution." Due to the influence of various factors such as social class, strata, and groups and place and time, pluralism of interests has an objective existence. The problem is that we did not recognize it or constrained it in the past, so that it was covered, obscured, and submerged in stressing unanimity of interests. Without political democracy, objective plural economic demands cannot be met.

In short, I hold that as seen from China's current situation, we must vigorously promote political democracy, at least developing it together with economic democracy. Only thus will there be genuine economic democracy and can we remove obstacles to economic development. If we consider the problem of political democracy only after the realization of economic democracy, we can be sure that political democracy cannot be realized and economic democracy will also fall through. Lind's view actually represents some people's opinion. If we follow his thinking, then we shall have little to do in the current political structural reform and we had better wait for the emergence of economic democracy.

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CSO: 4005/360

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

NORINCO COPIES ISRAELI 'MINI-UZI' SUBMACHINEGUN

Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 12 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by Avi Qartin: "The Chinese Exhibited Their Mini-Uzi at a Fair in Paris; At Israel Military Industries, They Don't Know How the Chinese Got the Know-How."]

[Text] The Chinese military industry has copied the Mini-Uzi produced by Israel. The Chinese are manufacturing the Mini-Uzi in a version similar to that available on the civilian market in America: a 9mm, semi-automatic, long-barreled rifle.

The Chinese company producing the Uzi is called Norinco China North Industries Corp. The Chinese Uzi was exhibited two weeks ago in La Borgia, Paris, at a fair of equipment used in the war against terrorism. At this fair, called "Mini-Pol," the Chinese displayed various weapons they produce. They exhibited the Uzi only on prospectus.

The Mini-Uzi was developed in Israel some 7 years ago. Israel Military Industries does not know how the Chinese came upon the information needed to produce it. A spokesman for the company said yesterday: "We have no idea how the Chinese have managed to copy the Uzi. To the best of our knowledge, they have made an exact copy and attempted to market it in the United States. It has become clear that they have failed to sell it because of various technical difficulties."

The Israeli military industry is not the sole victim of the Chinese talent for copying. At the exhibition in Paris, the Chinese also showed, on prospectus, the American M-16 rifle. This, too, they have copied exactly and dubbed it "Semi-automatic rifle Model 331." An interesting tid-bit: Norinco's booth at the Paris exhibition was adjacent to that of the Israel Military Industries.

How did the Uzis reach China? Security experts say that the matter is not clear. About 2 and 1/2 years ago, the Chinese asked their liaison personnel in Israel to acquire 5 samples of the Mini-Uzi. Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin refused the Chinese request. Former Prime Minister Shim'on Peres also turned it down.

The Chinese did not despair. By some means, the contacted the American businessman, Richard [Mielman], a director of a company called Trans World Group. [Mielman], who was close to President Jimmy Carter, set up an international trading company with James [Kankeens] (a former member of the National Security Council), and William Miller (former Secretary of the Treasury in the Carter Administration). An additional partner in the enterprise in mid-1984 was Avraham (Abrasha) Tamir. He left the company when he began his public duties.

It was [Mielman's] company that supplied the Uzis to China. The transaction was accomplished through a Philippine company with connections to businessman Avraham Zilbershatz, who is one of the owners of the military textile firm 'Ayt.

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CSO: 4423/013

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### ANHUI MD COMMANDER ON MODERNIZING RESERVE FORCE

OW121359 Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 86 p 4

[Text] How should the reserve force be modernized? With this question in mind, this writer recently paid a visit to Li Yuanxi, commander of the Anhui Provincial Military District. Combining his experience in carrying out militia and reserve service work, Commander Li expressed various enlightening views on this.

The structure of troops must be scientific. This means that we must seriously readjust the structure of the militia and reserve force in accordance with the principle of organizing and building forces to meet specific requirements. The practical ways of carrying out this work are: 1) We should scientifically figure out the percentage of people in each category. The percentage of people in each category of the reserve force should be decided according to plans of PLA general departments and the tasks assigned by them. In addition, we should continually readjust the percentage of, and reinforce the troops in, each category in order to keep pace with scientific and technological development and changes in the composition of troops. This is particularly necessary in deciding the percentage of technical personnel. 2) We should position troops in a logical way. We should concentrate troops in certain areas, so that regular training and management will be easier and quick mobilization can be made in wartime. For instance, various arms of the services may be deployed in certain key cities or areas, and infantry divisions may be deployed in specific regions.

Weapons and military equipment should be constantly updated and the composition of weapons and military equipment should be readjusted in order to make it more rational. We should phase out outdated weapons and equip the militia with weapons and equipment similar to those used by regular troops. Only by doing so can we train our reserve force to meet the needs of the regular force. In addition, we should ensure a proper mix of different kinds of weapons. We should reduce the amount of light weapons; increase the amount of weapons for engaging aircraft, tanks, and airborne landings; and provide reserve units with complete sets of military equipment. Regarding the distribution of weapons, we should first give consideration to the needs of training qualified reserve soldiers, while bearing in mind the need to fight on the spot during wartime. We should ensure that sufficient weapons are deployed in key areas, but at the same time, we should avoid overconcentration of weapons.

Every effort should be made to regularize the training of the reserve force. Training guidelines should be continually readjusted and improved, and training programs should be made as identical as possible with regular troops'. In addition, special characteristics of militia and requirements for training militia units should be taken into consideration. The Anhui Provincial Military District works out its militia training program according to the province's strategic position, its geographical conditions, and the tasks it is likely to undertake in wartime. After training guidelines are set, they should be changed as little as possible, so that they can be strictly followed. Militia training bases should be gradually developed into military academy-like training centers; and teaching methods, planning work, training materials and fields, and other facilities should be unified. Some teaching centers may be set up in certain areas, or within the province, to improve the training for specialized technical personnel requiring more sophisticated training.

Command systems should be gradually automated. Automation of command systems is the key to improving the quick reaction ability of militia and reserve forces. The envisaged initial efforts to automate the Anhui Provincial Military District's command system are as follows: The first step is to set up a longitudinal automated network, linking the provincial military district, military subdistricts, and the provincial People's Armed Forces Department. The second step is to set up a lateral automated network. Such a network should be established between the provincial military district and military subdistricts and local party and government organs at their respective levels, and local departments and units having close relations with military work. Once a multi-channel automated network is established by linking higher and lower levels, the military and local authorities, and various departments and regions concerned, a highly automated command system can be operated, and favorable conditions created for quick mobilization should an emergency arise.

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CSO: 4005/358

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### SICHUAN ARMED FORCES COMMISSION DISCUSSES MILITIA, RESERVES

HK250403 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Text] The Provincial Party Committee's Armed Forces Commission held a plenary meeting on 24 January. The meeting affirmed 10 achievements in the province's People's Armed Forces work in 1986.

1. The army and people closely cooperated in completing the transfer to local authority of the province's 214 country-level People's Armed Forces departments, basically satisfying the local authorities, the army, and the People's Armed Forces departments.
2. The Daxian ground forces reserve division held a field exercise, showing that the military and political training of the reserve service units has entered a higher plane.
3. Militia training bases were constructed in Xindu, Guanghan, and Wusheng counties thus embarking on a new road in training militia at bases.
4. Gratifying achievements were scored in the Leshan City pilot project in comprehensive reform of the militia and reserve service, thus laying the foundation for implementing the relevant central documents.
5. The experiences of Xiangyang township in Guanghan County in coordinating recruitments, [word indistinct] supply, and resettlement were summed up and popularized, thereby embarking on a new road in recruitment work. The township was commended by the leadership of the PLA General Staff Department for doing outstandingly well in fulfilling its recruitment task.
6. The experiences of Nanchong and Suining in training dual-purpose talented people were summed up and popularized. Thus a new form was promoted in training, developing, and employing dual-purpose talented people among the militia and ex-servicemen.
7. The province continued to promote mutual assistance and disaster relief work, to stimulate socialist economic construction.
8. The province actively launched joint efforts for building spiritual civilization. Some 267 of the province's 352 army-people points for joint building of spiritual civilization have been assessed as civilized units at and above county level.

9. Militia logistics work has been reformed. There is now centralized storage of weapons in 140 counties. The modernization standard of logistics and supply work has been improved.

10. Military academic studies have been vigorously launched, and people's scientific sense for directing the building of national defense reserve strength has been improved.

Yang Ruadi, secretary of the Provincial Party Committee and chairman of the Provincial Armed Forces Commission, spoke at the meeting. He said: We must seriously implement the spirit of the recent enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission and meet the strategic shift in the guiding idea on national defense construction and the major reforms in the People's Armed Forces setup. We must get a good grasp of the tasks assigned for this year by the Armed Forces Commission.

Comrade Yang Rudai stressed: We must uphold the four cardinal principles, persevere in reform and opening up, and step up the building of spiritual civilization. We must do a good job in militia work based on the spirit of hard work and thrift in everything we do, and raise People's Armed Forces work in the province to a new level.

Gao Shuchun, Zhang Changshun, Bai Shangwu, and Liu Chunfu, responsible comrades of the Armed Forces Commission, and comrades of departments concerned of Chengdu Military Region attended the meeting.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

JINAN MILITARY REGION ENFORCES ARMY DISCIPLINE

OW111346 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0102 GMT 2 Dec 86

[By reporter Wang Zhiyun]

[Excerpts] Jinan, 2 Dec (XINHUA)--The party committee of the PLA Jinan Military Region regards the enforcement of party and army discipline as an important task in army building. Taking a clear-cut stand in supporting and publicizing advanced, disciplined model persons and firmly dealing with discipline violations, it has promoted healthy trends among the troops, particularly the party members and leading cadres. The Discipline-Inspection Committee of the Central Military Commission recently conveyed experience of the Jinan Military Region to all PLA units.

After basically completing its strength-reduction and reorganization and first-stage party rectification, the Jinan Military Region specifically made a decision on enforcing discipline early this year, emphasizing efforts to consolidate and enhance the results of party rectification and strength-reduction and reorganization by means of ideological education and discipline enforcement. The Military Region Party Committee has conducted comprehensive and thorough investigations, familiarized itself with the actual situation, and decided to do the following work first: (1) Enforce work discipline, oppose sloppy and irresponsible work style and further improve work efficiency; (2) Enforce personnel discipline, firmly oppose the malpractice of favoritism in personnel affairs, and thus ensure purity of the cadre ranks; (3) Enforce financial and economic discipline, rules and regulations, and stop such irregularities as using public funds to give dinner parties or gifts; and (4) Maintain required standards for appearance and bearing and ensure good manners of servicemen.

In the course of improving office discipline, Military Region Commander Li Jiulong and Political Commissar Chi Haotian held three meetings of heads of second-level departments and above to expose and solve relevant problems.

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CSO: 4005/358



MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

LANZHOU MR SERVICES BENEFIT CIVILIANS

OW181420 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0638 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Text] Lanzhou, 18 Dec (XINHUA)--To accommodate the strategic change of guidance for the armed forces, and to serve the nation's economic construction, the Lanzhou Military Region has accomplished 10 practical projects for people living in northwest China this year. Its contributions to the development of northwest China are hailed by people of all nationalities living in that part of the country.

The 10 practical projects are: Relieving a number of cities and towns from the obligations of contributing manpower and material resources to defense, so that they can use these resources on economic construction; lessening the people's economic burden by reducing the number of militiamen and training assignments; dispatching as many as 10,000 officers and men and over 300 vehicles to take part in relatively major relief projects on 25 occasions, retrieving over 20 million yuan of losses for the state; supporting local economic construction by allowing local authorities to administer a number of defense projects with the military; establishing a liaison between interior China and Xinjiang by installing more than 1,800 km of cables between Lanzhou and Xinjiang; planting 2.18 million trees, nurturing over 1,400 mu of tree saplings, and seeding 15,000 mu of land for the local authorities while overfulfilling its own assignments of afforesting the barracks areas; helping a number of old revolutionary bases, minority areas, border areas, and impoverished areas change their outlook by cosponsoring "aid-the-poor" programs with the local authorities; dispatching "military training groups" to 21 colleges and middle schools to help them develop military training programs; sending to northwest China as many as 1,000 retired officers and nearly 10,000 dual-purpose personnel from among the fighters; and expediting spiritual construction inside and outside the military by cosponsoring with the local authorities friendship activities aimed at encouraging army men and civilians to render meritorious services on the front and in the rear.

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CSO: 4005/358

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

NANJING MR LEADERS VISIT WAN SHAOFEN, OTHERS

OW251359 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Jan 87

[Text] (Xie Guangyi), deputy director of the PLA General Logistics Department, and Xiang Shouzhi, Fu Kuiqing, Guo Tao, and Qin Song, respectively commander, political commissar, deputy commander, and logistics department director of the Nanjing Military Region, recently came to our province to visit commanders and fighters and inspect army work.

The leading comrades of the PLA General Logistics Department and the Nanjing Military Region separately visited commanders and fighters of the Jiangxi Provincial Military District, the Nanchang Army School, and PLA units stationed in Jiangxi. In Nanchang they met with participants in the enlarged meeting of the party committee of the provincial military district and held a discussion meeting with retired cadres to warmly inquire about their living conditions and listen to their views and requests.

When visiting army units, the leading comrades of the PLA General Logistics Department and the Nanjing Military Region urged all commanders and fighters to implement the guidelines of the speeches of the central leading comrades and the Enlarged Meeting of the Central Military Commission, strengthen ideological and political work, promote [words indistinct], keep in line with the Party Central Committee, uphold the four cardinal principles, and take the lead in opposing bourgeois liberalization. While in Nanchang, they also had cordial conversations with Wan Shaofen, Liu Fangren, Jiang Zhuping, and other leading comrades of the Provincial Party Committee and the provincial government, and thanked the party and government organs and the masses of our province for their support of the army work.

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CSO: 4005/358

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### ARMY LEADERS ATTEND SPRING FESTIVAL GATHERING

#### Hubei Military District

HK260317 Wuhan Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 25 Jan 87

[Excerpts] Yesterday, the Provincial Party Committee and government held a forum in Wuchang to support the army and give preferential treatment to its dependents. Guan Guangfu, secretary of the Provincial Party Committee presided. Guo Zhenqian, deputy secretary of the Provincial Party Committee and governor, and Wang Shen, commander of Hubei Military District, made speeches.

The forum was attended by leading comrades of the Provincial Party Committee, Advisory Commission, Discipline Inspection Commission, People's Congress Standing Committee, government, and CPPCC Zhao Fulin, Wang Qun, Qian Yunlu, Huang Zhizhen, Li Wei, Liu Huinong, Shen Yinluo, Ding Fengying, Wang Hanzhang, Wang Libin, and Han Nanpeng; Xia Shihou, a member of the Central Advisory Commission; Zhang Caiqian, Zhou Shizhong, Ren Rong, Wang Zhan, Li Huamin, Wang Xin, Kong Qingde, Wu Ruishan, Zhang Xiulong, Min Xuesheng, Pan Zhenwu, Zhong Wenfa, Xie Shengkun, Zhang Riqing, Lei Qiyun, Zhou Zhigani, and Zheng Zhishi, former leading comrades of Wuhan Military Region; Cui Jiangong, (Li Dingzhuo), Jiang Hanzhang, Wan Zhao Fuxing, former leading comrades of departments concerned of Wuhan Military Region; Kang Xinghuo, Xiao Jianzhang, and (Li ?ingmin), former leading comrades of the Wuhan Military Region Air Force; Wu Changyou, (Jiang Xianchen), Zhou Huanzhong, Tang Jiao, and (Huang Chengming), responsible comrades of the Guangzhou Military Region Air Force, the Wuhan Military Region office for dealing with residual problems, and departments concerned; and (Zhang Xueqi), (Zhang Shujun), (Chen Jing), (Li Huili), (Wang Jiayue), (Han Chunying), (Huang Sisheng), (Ni Dapeng), (Zhang Xiangge), (Yao Shuren), (Li Shouren), (Li Lianghui), (Zhou Quan), Chu Chuanyu, (Li Weihua), (Liu Ling), (Chen Kangyan), responsible persons of the Hubei Military District, the Wuhan base command of the PLA General Logistics Department, the Wuhan command center of the Air Force, PLA Unit 39155, military academies in Wuhan, and the provincial armed police.

## Nei Monggol Military District

SK250532 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Jan 87

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, the Nei Monggol military district held a tea party to greet the Spring Festival together with veteran PLA cadres who once worked in the military district.

Leading comrades of the Nei Monggol regional Party Committee, the regional Advisory and Discipline Inspection Commissions, the regional People's Congress, the regional government, and the regional CPPCC Committee, including Qian Fenyong, Tian Congming, Zhou Rongchang, Ma Zhenduo, Wang Duo, Shen Xinfu, He Yao, Bai Junqing, and Xu Shengrong; Ting Mao, member of the Central Advisory Commission; and responsible comrades of the Nei Monggol armed police force, the PLA units of the military district stationed in Hohhot, and all departments, commissions, offices, and bureaus of the regional organs were invited to the tea party. They jointly said farewell to the past year and greeted and celebrated the new year together with the veteran cadres.

Cai Ying, commander of the Nei Monggol military district, gave a speech at the tea party. He wished the veteran comrades good health, and happiness for their families and during the Spring Festival.

Comrade Cai Ying said: The past 8 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee have been the longest period of sustained development and an excellent situation since the founding of the PRC. Like all other places in China, all people of various nationalities in Nei Monggol have worked in unity like brothers to form a new situation of stability and unity in which all people are striving for prosperity and greater development through hard work. Under the leadership of the Beijing Military Region and the regional Party Committee, our Nei Monggol military district has firmly maintained political unity with the Party Central Committee; upheld the four cardinal principles; strengthened efforts to build the PLA units into a revolutionary, modern, and regular army; and scored gratifying achievements in all fields of work. The military capability, political awareness, and fighting strength of the PLA units have improved remarkably. Facts show that without the party's leadership, there would not be the nationwide excellent situation of stability and unity that we have today. Some people intended to negate the four cardinal principles and advocate bourgeois liberalism in an attempt to lead the country to the capitalist road. This goes against the historical development trend and the fundamental interests of the entire party, army, and the people of various nationalities. Concerning these major issues, our veteran comrades must adopt a clear-cut and firm stand, publicize the four cardinal principles among the masses, and serve as models in maintaining unity.

Comrade Cai Ying said: The tasks for 1987 are arduous. Therefore, we should thoroughly study and implement the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee and the guidelines of the enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission, resolutely promote the glorious traditions of working hard under the leadership of the party committee of the Beijing

Military Region and the regional Party Committee and in line with the directives of the Party Central Committee and Central Military Commission, and exert vigorous efforts to make all fields of work a success. At present, we should boldly uphold the four cardinal principles; oppose the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalism with a clear-cut stand; guarantee the party's absolute leadership over the army; actively strengthen their ideological and political work and the building of the spiritual civilization to cope with the strategic change in the guidelines for army building; and greet the 60th founding anniversary of the army, the 40th founding anniversary of our autonomous region, and the successful convocation of the 13th party congress with our solid deeds, creative work, and outstanding achievements.

#### Guangzhou Supports Politburo Decision

HK240511 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Excerpt] Yesterday afternoon, the Guangzhou Military Region held a spring festival tea party to extend warm regards to veteran cadres. Some 250 veteran cadres and relatives of deceased cadres gathered together to celebrate the festival. Yang Chengwu, vice chairman of the CPPCC, comrades of Guangzhou Military Region, and veteran comrades resting in Guangzhou attended the tea party.

On behalf of the Military Region Party Committee and the commanders and fighters of the military region organs, You Taizhong extended warm regards and festival greetings to the veteran comrades and their wives, wishing them good health, long life, and happiness.

You Taizhong said: We fully support the decisions of the enlarged meeting of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau. We will resolutely respond to the call of the CPC Central Committee, take a firm and clear-cut stand in the forefront of the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, and spontaneously maintain a high degree of political and ideological unity with the CPC Central Committee.

#### Guangzhou Army-People Forum

HK260511 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 26 Jan 87

[Text] The Provincial Party Committee and government and Guangzhou Military Region held a spring festival army-people forum in the Guangdong Guesthouse yesterday. Governor Ye Xuanping first reported to the comrades on Guangdong's economic construction performance last year. Guangzhou Military Region Commander You Taizhong spoke on the achievements in army building. Provincial Party Committee Secretary Lin Ruo made a speech.

The speakers unanimously praised the close unity of army and government and army and people in the past year and called for further strengthening of this unity. On behalf of the Provincial Party Committee and government and Guangzhou Military Region, they also wished a happy spring festival, good health, and long life to the veteran comrades present.

## Chengdu Military Region

HK250401 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Excerpts] A forum on supporting the army and cherishing the people, held by the Sichuan and Chengdu people's governments and the Chengdu PLA units, was held in Chengdu on 24 January, Mayor Hu Maozhou presiding.

Jiang Minkuan, deputy secretary of the Provincial Party Committee and governor, made a speech. He first extended spring festival greetings and regards to the PLA units in Sichuan and the Provincial Armed Police Force. He stressed: In the new year, we must seriously implement the spirit of the 6th plenary session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, uphold the four cardinal principles, take a firm and clear-cut stand in opposing bourgeois liberalization, preserve and develop the excellent situation of stability and unity, and uphold the principle of reform and opening up. In every sector and all trade we must promote the social atmosphere of persisting in arduous struggle, building the country with hard work and thrift, making greater contributions, and strictly adhering to discipline. We must launch a drive to increase production and practice economy and to increase revenue and economize expenditure, and strive to push the building of the two civilizations to a new level.

Shao Nong, member of the Standing Committee of the party committee of the Chengdu Military Region and director of the Political Department, also spoke.

The forum was attended by Wan Haifeng, political commissar of Chengdu Military Region, Zhang Taiheng, deputy commander; Wang Chenghan, political commissar of the PLA Academy of Military Sciences; Yang Rudai, secretary of the Provincial Party Committee; Nie Ronggui, deputy secretary; Standing Committee members Wu Xihai, Bai Shangwu, Huang Qizao, Song Dafan, Xu Chuan, (Xu Shiqun), (La Jinxiu), and (Gao Shuchun); Xu Mengxia, chairman of the Provincial Advisory Commission; Vice Chairman Yang Wanxuan; Standing Committee members Wang Chengbo, Li Shaoyan, (Li Manying), (Luo Ming), (Liao Fengshu) and (Han Zhengfu) and others.

Also present were (Hou Shujun), (Di Hao), (Xu Dejun), (Zheng Xianbin), (Yang Defu), (Wang Xinqian), (Zheng Xin), and (Yang Hanwen), responsible persons of departments concerned of the Chengdu Military Region; (Geng Jizhou) and (Fan Yanhong), responsible persons of the Provincial Armed Police Force; Ren Lingyun, president of the Provincial Higher People's Court; and Gao Zhenzhong, president of the Provincial Procuratorate.

## Jiangsu Military District

OW251353 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Jan 87

[Excerpt] The Jiangsu Provincial Military District sponsored a gathering of military and civilian leaders on the afternoon of 19 January to celebrate the spring festival. Jiang Weiqing, member of the Central Advisory Commission, and Kang Di, member of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, attended

the gathering at invitation. Also invited to the gathering were responsible persons of the Jiangsu Provincial and Nanjing City party committees; advisory commissions, people's congress standing committees, governments, and CPPCC committees, including Han Peixin, Sun Han, Chen Huanyou, Sun Jiazheng, Yue Dewang, Cheng Weigao, Hu Fuming, (Gu Hao), Liu Lin, Zhou Ze, Chu Jiang, Hong Peilin, Li Zhizhong, Yang Yongyi, Qian Zhonghan, (Luo Yunlai), Gao Juefu, Zuo Ai, Xing Bai, Zhang Yaohua, (Wang Rongding), (Hu Jujie), (Xu Zhi), (Xu Yingrui), and (Zhang Cuihuan).

In his speech, Zhen Shen, commander of the Provincial Military District, thanked provincial and Nanjing City leaders for their support of and assistance to the provincial military district.

#### Fujian Military District

OW231229 Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jan 87 p 1

[Excerpt] Fujian Province, Fuzhou City, and PLA units in Fujian held a get-together in Fuzhou on the evening of 10 January to celebrate the 1987 Spring Festival.

Some 1,200 people participated in the get-together. They included:

Comrade Lu Jiayi, president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences;

Leaders of the Fujian Provincial Party Committee, Advisory Commission, Discipline Inspection Commission, People's Congress Standing Committee, people's government, and CPPCC Committee, Comrades Chen Guangi, Hu Ping, Jia Qinglin, Cheng Xu, Yuan Gai, Zhang Yumin, Gao Hu, Zhang Kehui, Cai Ninglin, Yuan Qitong, He Shaochuan, Zhang Gexin, Wang Yan, Guo Ruiren, Wen Xiushan, Wang Zhi, Liu Yongye, You Dexin, Chen Xizhong, Ni Songmao, Zhao Xiufu, Lu Haoran, Zuo Fengmei, Chen Yangzeng, and Xu Jiemi;

Leaders of the PLA Army, Navy and Air Force units in Fujian, Comrades Zhang Zongde, Cong Lizhi, Wang Yonggu, Li Lingwei, Jin Gong, and Qian Yingfa;

Army and local veteran comrades Lu Sheng, Zhu Shaoqing, Zhu Yaoua, Xie Jiexiang, He Yunfeng, Wu Hongxiang, Wei Jinshui, Huang Yaguang, Jia Jiumin, Cai Li, He Ruoren, Zhang Zhaohan, Gao Panjiu, Wang Yu, Xu Yiqing, Zhang Yi, Li Mintang, and Lu Weite; and

Leading cadres of provincial organs and Fuzhou City party and government organizations.

Comrade Hong Yongshi, Mayor of Fuzhou City, presided over the get-together.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

RUI XINGWEN, OTHERS VISIT SHANGHAI PLA UNITS

OW261408 Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 Jan 87 p 1

[Excerpts] While the people in Shanghai are joyfully preparing for the Spring Festival, six groups, composed of leaders of Shanghai's party and government organizations and representatives of various circles, visited grassroots PLA units in Shanghai yesterday. They extended their cordial regards and festival greetings to the commanders and fighters who have made outstanding achievements in building the two civilizations and keeping public order.

Rui Xingwen, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, and his group visited the 3d Company of the Shanghai Municipal People's Armed Police Corps in the western suburbs and cordially held a discussion with the commanders and fighters.

Other municipal party and government leaders who visited PLA units yesterday included Chen Guodong, Hu Lijiao, Wang Daohan, Yang Di, Huang Ju, Wu Bangguo, Zeng Qinghong, Chen Tiedi, Sun Guizhang, Zhang Dinghong, Shi Zhusan, Zhao Qizheng, Shu Wen, Zuo Ying, Liu Zhenyuan, Ni Tianzeng, Ye Gongqi, Xie Lijuan, Qian Xuezhong, Li Guohao, Yang Shifa, Xu Yifang, Dong Yinchu, Zhou Bi, and Yang You.

Leaders of the PLA units in Shanghai and the Shanghai Municipal People's Armed Police Corps Ba Zhongtan, Ping Changxi, Liu Xingwen, Liu Qingyong, Qin Yichang, Song Zhongwen, Wang Guanliang, Li Shouyan, Wu Xia, Wang Yan, Pan Qihuai, Li Xiaohang, and Sui Xinhui separately met the party and government leaders and representatives of various circles at those PLA and armed police units.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### JIANGXI GOVERNOR ADDRESSES ARMED POLICE PARTY MEETING

OW271220 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Jan 87

[Excerpts] An enlarged meeting of the party committee of the provincial People's Armed Police departments ended in Nanchang today.

Group Commander (Ding Xingfa) made a report to the meeting on the group's work in 1986 and its main tasks for 1987.

The meeting called for the revolutionization, modernization, and regularization of the provincial People's Armed Police departments.

Wu Guanzheng, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee and governor of the province, attended and addressed the meeting. He said: Carrying forward revolutionary traditions, armed police units in our province have achieved fairly good results in carrying out security tasks and strengthening themselves. Public order in our province has steadily improved. The public security cadres and police have contributed to this, and so has the armed police group.

Wu Guanzheng said: We must unswervingly uphold the four cardinal principles and take a clear-cut stand in opposing bourgeois liberalization. We should promote the spirit of hard struggle and building up the country through thrift and hard work. We should make vigorous efforts to increase production and practice economy and increase revenues and reduce expenditures in order to contribute more to the four modernizations and the revitalization of Jiangxi. The armed police is an armed force led by the party. It should further strengthen its ideological and political work. All the members of the armed police should foster lofty ideals, observe discipline, pay close attention to morality, and become better educated.

Wang Zhaorong, member of the Standing Committee and secretary of the political and legal commission of the Provincial Party Committee, called on all the cadres and fighters of the provincial People's Armed Police departments to conscientiously study and implement the communique of the recent enlarged meeting of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau and the guidelines laid down in the Party Central Committee's relevant documents, uphold the four cardinal principles, and oppose bourgeois liberalization. Members of the provincial People's Armed Police departments should play an important role in maintaining public order and defending and promoting socialist construction. They should further strengthen themselves, step up their political and ideological work, and do a good job in building a spiritual civilization.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

ZHU BORU TO TAKE UP NEW POST IN CHENGDU, SICHUAN

HK051531 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Dec 86

[Text] After studying in a military academy for 3 years, Zhu Boru, a honorable pacesetter in learning from Lei Feng and a former deputy director of the Logistics Department of the Wuhan Air Force, graduated in August this year. He will soon go to take up a new post in the Chengdu Military Region Air Force.

While studying in the military academy for 3 years, Zhu Boru always showed concern for the growth of young people and juveniles. He travelled a circuit of various places to give reports and on his winter and summer vacations visited some 50 universities and middle schools and some 30 prisons and training centers and detaining centers for juvenile delinquents. Through correspondence, he made friends with many young workers, fighters, students, and teachers and exchanged views. These ebullient letters truly reflected Zhu Boru's concern for and expectations of young people's and juveniles' progress and reflected his lofty morals and sentiments, resulting in relatively good social effect.

Today, Zhu Boru, who will soon go to take up a new post in Chengdu, Sichuan, returned to the unit--Hankou POL Depot of the Air Force--where he worked in the past to visit his veteran comrades-in-arms and young fighters. He also asked reporters to convey his respect for the people of Hubei. He said: Hubei is my second native place. It is the people here that have nurtured me and given me high honor. I will work hard and live up to the expectations of the people of Hubei.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### PLA AIR FORCE USING MORE COMPUTERS, LASERS

OW252206 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 23 Jan 87

[Text] The PLA Air Force has extensively used computers, laser and sophisticated electronics technology in training, aircraft maintenance, logistics, and meteorology to modernize Air Force units. In doing training and simulation work, Air Force units have extensively used computer technology to improve simulation work. In checking safety, helping pilots strengthen their professional training, and recording pilots' physiological changes in high-temperature or low-pressure cabins, the Air Force units have used sophisticated remote control devices with computers as the core to assist medical personnel on the ground in recording and watching physiological changes in pilots during flight and taking necessary preventive or corrective measures. Various Air Force units have also set up a maintenance system with computers to help do their aircraft maintenance work. With the use of computer technology, the Air Force meteorological departments are able to make weather forecasts even more accurately to help Air Force training work and support national economic construction.

According to statistics, Air Force units have scored a total of 4,400 achievements of all types in scientific research since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Seventeen of these achievements won state invention awards, while 30 of them won state progress awards.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

NAVY RECEIVES ACHIEVEMENT AWARDS FOR 1986

OW270022 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0305 GMT 24 Jan 87

[Text] Beijing, 24 Jan (XINHUA)--Three hundred and fifty-seven equipment research achievements made by the Navy in 1986 have been given military and nonmilitary awards.

Navy equipment research and first production line research personnel, engineers, and technicians, as well as military personnel attached to factories contributed prominently to preliminary research in new equipment, in remodeling relevant warships and aircraft, in logistics building, in military medical science, and in other fields. The achievement in underwater launching of a new guided missile was awarded the special state progressive scientific-technical prize; the achievements in submarine medical science and their military application and on the main project of a nuclear submarine base were awarded to the state scientific-technical prize, first class. At the second national exhibition of inventions, emulsion damping material and three other scientific achievements developed by the Navy received the gold, silver, and bronze medals.

The scientific research achievements effectively upgraded the Navy's equipment modernization. A new guided missile destroyer built by the war industrial front, after it adopted the economic contract system on a trial basis for the first time, has been delivered to the Navy for use; the first deep-diving lifeboat designed and manufactured by China has completed experiments in practical deepwater rescue operations; much progress has been made in the research on the accuracy of self-guided underwater weapons. In particular, the standard of electronic countermeasures equipment has been upgraded from single-unit equipment to systems and from single-function equipment to multifunction equipment.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### MILITARY LEADERS ON SECOND ARTILLERY CORPS' OPERATIONS

HK190845 Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 4 Jan 87 p 1

[Report by Reporter Yang Xuequan [2799 1331 3123]: "Yang Shangkun and Other Military Commission Leaders Meet with Delegates to the Party Congress of the Second Artillery Corps"]

[Text] Beijing, 3 Jan--Amid the cold wind under the snowless sky, Yang Shangkun, permanent vice chairman of the Central Military Commission; Yu Qiuli, Yang Dezhi, Zhang Aiping, and Hong Xuezhi, deputy secretaries-general of the commission; and other leading comrades of the commission jubilantly met in the compound of the general office of the commission with nearly 500 delegates to the party congress of the Second Artillery Corps.

The Second Artillery Corps, established 20 years ago through arduous efforts, has been built into a completely equipped combined arms unit and has become an important component part of our national defense forces. Yang Shangkun said: The Second Artillery Corps has scored great achievements in its work and the Central Military Commission is pleased with the corps' work. He hoped that in the new year, comrades of the corps would implement a series of instructions in the "Resolution of the Central Military Commission on Armed Forces' Political Work During the New Period" adopted at the enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission and would further promote the corps' work. The commission's enlarged meeting just ended.

In his speech delivered on behalf of other leading comrades of the Military Commission, Zhang Aiping said: The major sign of the Second Artillery Corps' great achievements in its work is its ability to carry out operational tasks. He urged them to score new creative achievements in the new year.

Zhang Aiping said: In studying ways to develop the Second Artillery Corps, now it is imperative to do two things well. First, regarding the organizational systems, we must constantly sum up our experiences in accordance with conditions of current work, study ways to better adapt to the special characteristics of high technological units, and change certain existing things that do not suit such special needs. Second, we must now begin to consider issues concerning the ability to survive, shift the focus from the past emphasis on passive survival ability to the development of our active survival ability, and join other national defense scientific research units in making joint efforts to improve, based on new conditions, our ability to conduct future operations and to score greater achievements.

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### YANG SHANGKUN GIVES EULOGY FOR HUANG KECHENG

OW100635 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0900 GMT 7 Jan 87

[Text] Beijing, 7 Jan (XINHUA)--Comrade Yang Shangkun's speech at the memorial meeting for Comrade Huang Kecheng:

Today, with deep grief, we are profoundly honoring the memory of Comrade Huang Kecheng, a long-tested loyal communist fighter, an outstanding leader of the party and the army and a great proletarian revolutionary and strategist.

Comrade Huang Kecheng was from Yongxing County, Hunan. Born on 1 October 1902, in a poor peasant's family, he joined the CPC in 1925. In 1926 he took part in the Northern Expedition and in 1928 he was one of the leaders in the year-end riot in Yongxing during the Hunan uprising. He later went to Jinggangshan. He served successively as regiment commander; battalion, contingent, and division political commissar; army political department director; and acting director of the Third Red Army Group Political Department of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. He participated in the struggle to consolidate and develop the Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi Soviet Area and the various campaigns in the Central Soviet Area against "encirclement and suppression." During the Long March, he led his troops to fight as the advance guard and performed one meritorious deed after another in the battles to cross the Xiang Jiang, occupy the Loushan Pass, and take over Zunyi County seat.

During the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Huang Kecheng served successively as Organization Department director of the General Political Department of the Eighth Route Army, political commissar of the 344th Brigade, political commissar of the Second Column and Fourth Column, commander and concurrently political commissar of the Fifth Column, commander and concurrent political commissar of the Third Division of the New Fourth Army and secretary of the party committee of Northern Jiangsu Region. After fighting in battles in Shanxi, Hebei, Shandong, and Henan, he led his troops to the south to join forces with the troops sent north by the New Fourth Army to establish the northern Jiangsu anti-Japanese base area and brought the base areas in northern and central China into contact with each other. Standing firmly by the party's strategic policy for anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare, it did not try to remain entrenched in cities and towns when the enemy troops were stronger than ours but instead dispersed his troops to fight as guerrillas.

Under his leadership, the troops and people in our base areas smashed many large scale "mop-ups" launched by the Japanese and puppet armies. He correctly implemented the party's policy of national united front for the war of resistance against Japan to unite with people at all strata for a joint war against Japan. In the struggle against the diehards in the Kuomintang, he adhered to the principle of carrying it out "with reason, for advantage and with restraint" and struck back at the plots, sabotage and attacks launched by the troops of the die-hard elements in good time. In 1949, he organized and commanded the Funing, Huainan, and Huaibei campaigns, which liberated large areas in northern Jiangsu.

Following the victory in the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Huang Kecheng led more than 30,000 troops of the main force of the Third Division, New Fourth Army, to advance toward northeast China, where he led in the establishment of the Ximan base area and became the commander of the Ximan Military Region and deputy secretary and then acting secretary of the CPC Ximan Bureau. Later, he served as deputy commander of the Northeast Democratic Joint Army and concurrently the army's logistics commander and political commissar, secretary of the CPC Bureau in the Hebei-Chahar-Rehe-Liaoning Area and political commissar of the military district of the area, and political commissar of the Second Army Group of the Dongbei Field Army. He made important contributions in bringing about victory in the people's liberation war in northeast China.

Following the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Huang Kecheng had handled leadership work in Hunan. After 1952, he served as deputy chief of general staff and concurrently director and political commissar of the General Logistics Department of the PLA, secretary general of the CPC Central Military Commission, vice defense minister, chief of General Staff and member of the CPC Central Secretariat. He participated in formulating the principles of national defense strategy and army building and took part in the leadership work over the formulation and implementation of all major systems of the whole army, thereby contributing to a stepped-up modernization and regularization of the PLA and to the development and transition from an army of units of single services arms to one with combined units of various services and arms. He advocated the attitude of taking the interest of the whole situation into consideration and the principle of building the army with diligence and frugality for the purpose of saving military expenses in support of the country's economic construction.

Comrade Huang Kecheng had a solid proletarian party spirit. He did not blindly follow others or readily subscribe to other people's views. He stood firmly by the truth and was upright, never stooping to flattery. Because he steadfastly defended correct views, he was subject to uncalled-for criticisms and attacks on many occasions, sometimes even to dismissal and demotion. In spite of all this, he always maintained the lofty quality of being upright and bold enough to speak up and act, without private motive or fear, for the good of the people. At the Lushan Conference in 1959, he criticized, in the manner of seeking truth from facts, the "leftist" errors that cropped up in the "Great Leap Forward" and "people's commune" movements. As a result, he was mistakenly criticized and attacked and wrongly designated along with Peng

Dehuai and the others as a member of the anti-Party group." During the "Great Cultural Revolution," he was once again subject to serious prosecution by the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. Nevertheless, he maintained his confidence in the party and the cause of communism with the broadmindedness of a Marxist-Leninist.

Comrade Huang Kecheng was boundlessly loyal to the party and people. With nothing but the people and the cause of communism in mind, he never cared about personal feelings and interests. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee corrected the wrong resolution adopted at the Lushan Conference, Comrade Huang Kecheng was elected permanent secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. In 1982, he became second secretary of the commission. Although he lost his eyesight and was fragile and in poor health, he continued to work hard day and night for the cause of the party. Wholeheartedly supporting and resolutely implementing the line, principles, and policies of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, he did a great deal of outstanding and efficient work to set things right, redress injustices, try the case of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, restore and perfect the discipline inspection work throughout the party, and rectify party style. For this, he was loved and respected by the whole party, the whole army, and the people of the whole country. Even after his illness forced him to be hospitalized, he still remained very concerned about the party's discipline inspection work, the construction of the country, and the building of the army, and still supported the work of the comrades on the front line. He really spared no effort in his life.

Comrade Huang Kecheng was a man of vision and farsightedness. Always considering and handling problems by proceeding from the overall interests of the party and state, he made many important suggestions on political and military matters to the Party Central Committee. He attached importance to investigation and study, was good at proceeding from reality and creatively implementing the party's principles and policies, adhered to the principle of seeking truth from facts and opposed any superficial style of work.

Comrade Huang Kecheng possessed the fine quality of a communist. He was big-hearted and kept the interests of the whole situation in his mind. He would think nothing of his personal interests or that of a part when the interests of the party and an entire group were at stake. He refused to claim credit for himself or monopolize power. What he did was fight heart-and-soul for the interests of the people. He was modest and prudent, approachable and democratic in work style, knew his subordinates well enough to assign them jobs commensurate with their abilities, concerned himself with the people's hardships and took care of cadres with earnest. His efforts to observe party discipline were exemplary. Hard working, plain living, and honest in performing his duties, he was an example to others in everything he did. Persisting in the party's fine tradition and setting strict demands for his children and those around him, he was worthy to be regarded as a model for communists.

Comrade Huang Kecheng was a man of outstanding and meritorious services and a man of noble character and prestige. His was a revolutionary life, a



glorious and militant life. His passing is a serious loss to our party, our army, and the people of China. His lofty revolutionary spirit and fine thinking and quality will always deserve our emulation. We should follow his example to strive for new victories for the drive for socialist modernization.

Eternal glory to Comrade Huang Kecheng!

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

PLA MEETING OPPOSES LIBERALIZATION--Shaanxi Military District recently held an enlarged plenary meeting of its party committee. The participants pledged to take a firm and clear-cut stand in opposing bourgeois liberalization. They said: Young students, who lack experience, are prone to be influenced by the trend of thought of bourgeois liberalization. The serious thing is that certain party members and leading cadres openly fail to observe party discipline, publicly oppose the four cardinal principles, and advocate bourgeois liberalization. After reviewing the revolutionary practice since the founding of the state, a number of veteran comrades stressed that the four cardinal principles represent the summation of our people's experience in struggle over a long period. We cannot depart from the four cardinal principles in carrying out reform, opening up, and the four modernizations. All declared: The PLA is the strong pillar of the people's democratic dictatorship. In the face of the major issue of right and wrong of upholding the four cardinal principles, we must keep clear heads, always maintain unity with the CPC Central Committee, spontaneously resist corrosion by the trend of thought of bourgeois liberalization, and contribute toward preserving and developing the political situation of stability and unity. [Text] [Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 21 Jan 87HK]

COMMUNICATIONS INSTITUTE SHARES TECHNOLOGY--According to a JIEFANGJUN BAO report, over the past 3 years, the PLA Communications Engineering Institute has taken the initiative in transferring the technology of more than 200 research projects to civilian departments, giving full scope to its educational and research capacity. A demand distributor developed by the institute has filled the requirements of a key part in a small communication satellite system, saving several million yuan. [Text] [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 24 Jan 87 OW]

NINGXIA FULFILLS CONSCRIPTION WORK--Our region's conscription work for this year was satisfactorily wound up on 12 November. To fulfill this year's conscription work, the autonomous region and all localities made careful arrangements. Leading people at all levels inspected grass roots units and directed the conscription in person, thus ensuring its success. More preferential treatment was given to conscripts in all localities. At the same time, a system of personal responsibility was practiced in the conscription. As all the conscripts were carefully screened strictly according to the principle of priority to those with better qualification, new soldiers of much better quality than before were recruited--40.1 percent of the new soldiers had

received senior secondary education. All the new soldiers have taken training courses in different places before departure. Now all of them have reported for duty. [Report by Wu Yong [0702 0516] and Li Junxian [2621 6511 6343]: "Our Region's Conscription Work for This Year Has Been Satisfactorily Completed"] [Text] [Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 86 p 1 HK]

FUJIAN CONSCRIPTS--Fujian's first batch of conscripts, more than 600 of them, left Fuzhou for all units by train on 10 November. They were given a warm send-off at the railway station by Zhang Zongde, member of the Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee and commander of the Fujian Provincial Military District; You Dexin, vice governor of the Provincial Government; and Shi Rongji, deputy commander of the Provincial Military District. [Summary] [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 10 Nov 86 OW]

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DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONSTITUTION, PLATFORM

Democratic Progressive Party pamphlet, 10 Nov 86

[Constitution and platform of the Democratic Progressive Party; published in Taipei 10 Nov 86]

[Text] Constitution of the Democratic Progressive Party

Chapter 1. General Principles

Article 1: The party shall be named "Democratic Progressive Party." The purpose of the party is to achieve its platform.

Article 2: The flag of the party features a white cross on green emblazoned with a green Taiwan pattern at the center.

Chapter 2. Party Members

Article 3: Anyone over 18 years of age who voluntarily and sincerely believes in the party constitution and has completed party admission procedures shall be admitted as a party member.

Party admission regulations shall be drawn up separately.

Article 4: Party members shall not join any other political party. Those who have done so shall publicly renounce their membership of the other party(ies).

Article 5: Party members have the following duties:

1. honor the party constitution and abide by the organization's resolutions;
2. propagate the party platform and strive to win popular support;
3. participate in the party's activities and carry out assignments designated by the party;
4. recommend outstanding individuals to join the party; and
5. pay membership dues.

Article 6: Party members have the following rights:

1. to elect, be elected, and recall as the party constitution provides;
2. to speak, introduce motions, and vote at party meetings;
3. to be nominated and supported by the party;
4. to make suggestions, report offenses to the party, and obtain information;
5. to participate in party activities; and
6. to partake of welfare provided by the party.

Article 7: A party member may withdraw from the party any time by notifying in writing the executive committee of the county municipal party organization to which he is affiliated. Should a former party member wish to rejoin the party, he shall apply to the central party organization for permission.

### Chapter 3. Party Organization

Article 8: The party shall be democratically organized.

1. The party adopts resolutions by majority vote.
2. Power organization at higher levels shall be composed of representatives from organizations below.
3. Members of executive committees, review committees, and delegates at all levels shall be elected by secret ballot.
4. It shall be the duty of executive committee and review committee members to report to the organization regularly.

Article 9: The party shall be geographically organized at three levels: central, county municipal (including municipalities directly administered by the province or the Executive Yuan,) and villages and towns (municipalities, districts).

At each level the general party meeting shall be the highest decision-making body; the executive committee, the executive body; and the review committee, the review body.

Where there are more than 300 party members, a representative congress shall replace the general party meeting.

Article 10: Party organizations at all geographical levels shall be constituted as follows:

1. central level--national party congress--central party executive committee, review committee;
2. county municipal level--county municipal general party meeting--county municipal executive committee, review committee;
3. village and township (municipality and district) level--general party meeting--village township (municipal, district) executive committee, review committee.

Article 11: The party may organize special, directly affiliated organizations for women, youth, industry, or overseas personages.

A parliamentary group shall be established at each level of the assembly.

Regulations for the first two organizations shall be prepared separately.

## Chapter 4. National Party Congress

Article 12: The national party congress shall be the supreme organization of the party. It shall be convened annually by the executive committee. A provisional national party congress may be called, if necessary, by a resolution by the executive committee or when more than five county party organizations make a written request.

Article 13: The national party congress shall be composed as follows:

1. delegates elected by all county municipal party organizations;
2. delegates elected by directly affiliated party organizations;
3. delegates from full-time party workers;
4. party members with special contributions to democratic politics;
5. party members currently serving as senior county municipal officials;
6. party members currently serving on popularly elected assemblies at the central and provincial levels; and
7. current members of the central party executive committee and review committee.

Regulations shall be prepared separately for the number, ratio, and methods of election for delegates in categories 1 to 4.

## Chapter 5. Central Party Organization

Article 14: The national party congress shall have the following functions and powers:

1. amend the party constitution;
2. draw up the party platform;
3. hear and review work reports by the central executive committee;
4. hear and review work reports by the party's parliamentary groups at the central and provincial levels;
5. deliberate and vote on resolutions;
6. elect and recall members of the central executive and review committees;
7. deliberate and resolve major discipline cases turned over by the central review committee; and
8. deliberate and decide discipline methods and elect members of the arbitration committee.

Article 15: The executive committee in the central party organization shall consist of 31 members to be elected directly by the national party congress for a term of 2 years. Members may be re-elected. It shall have a 11-member standing committee to be elected by and from among members of the executive committee. It shall function collegially, with each member serving a 1-year term and eligible for re-election. The executive committee shall elect a chairman for the standing committee from among members of the latter committee for a term of 1 year. He shall not be eligible for re-election. During his absence, he shall be replaced by the person with the next highest number of votes.

Article 16: The executive committee shall have the following functions and powers:

1. implement the resolutions of the national party congress;
2. formulate internal party regulations;
3. formulate and implement party plans;
4. direct the party affairs of local party organizations and directly affiliated party organizations;
5. prepare the budget and final accounts;
6. deliberate and decide major personnel matters; and
7. handle draft resolutions on rewards and punishments.

Article 17: The executive committee shall meet at least once every 3 months. During recess, its functions and powers shall be discharged by the standing committee, which shall meet at least once every week.

Article 18: The central review committee shall consist of 11 members to be elected directly by the national party congress. It shall have a 5-member standing committee to be elected by and from among members of the review committee. One member of the standing committee shall be elected member-in-charge, who shall serve for a term of 2 years and be eligible for re-election.

Article 19: The review committee shall have the following functions and powers:

1. supervise the executive committee in handling party affairs;
2. examine the party's budget and final accounts;
3. interpret party constitution;
4. review the party's internal regulations; and
5. rectify and query decisions concerning rewards and punishments.

Article 20: There shall be a secretary general and a deputy secretary general in the central party organization. They shall be nominated by the chairman of the standing committee and appointed with the standing committee's consent. Their terms of office shall coincide with that of the chairman.

Regulations shall be made separately for the constitution of the central party organization.

## Chapter 6. Local Party Organizations

Article 21: The county general party meeting and township general party meeting shall be the supreme organizations in the county municipal party organization and township party organization, respectively. They shall be convened by the executive committee annually. A provisional general party meeting may be called, if necessary, by a resolution by the executive committee or on a written request by more than one-fifth of local party members.

Article 22: Local party members shall take part in the local general party meeting. Where there are more than 300 party members, a system of representation must be used. Party members shall be represented by the following delegates:

1. delegates elected by the local party organization;
2. current members of the executive and review committees;
3. representatives of full-time party workers;
4. party members who are currently local leaders;
5. party members who are currently serving on the popularly elected local assembly; and
6. party members with special contributions to the party.

Regulations shall be prepared separately for the number, ratio, and methods of election for delegates in categories 1, 3, and 6.

Article 23: The local general party meeting shall have the following functions and powers:

1. hear and review the work reports of the executive committee;
2. hear and review the work reports of the local parliamentary group;
3. deliberate and vote on motions;
4. elect and recall members of the executive and review committees.

Article 24: The county municipal party organization and township party organization shall each have an executive committee to be made up of 9 and 5 members, respectively. A member-in-charge shall be elected by and from among members of the executive committee. The county municipal party organization and township party organization also shall each have a review committee to consist of 5 and 3 members, respectively. A convener shall be elected by and from among members of the review committee. Both the member-in-charge and the convener shall serve a term of 2 years.

The constitution, functions, and powers of local party organizations shall correspond to those at the center, provided there is no inconsistency with their local nature.

The constitution, functions, and powers of directly affiliated party organizations shall correspond to those in the county municipal party organization.

Article 25: Local party organizations shall be given autonomy in deciding local party affairs provided they violate no party regulations and do not overstep their jurisdiction.

Article 26: Permission from the central party organization must be obtained before a local party organization organizes inter-local activities or puts out a publication.

#### Chapter 7. Discipline and Arbitration

Article 27: Party members and party organizations at all levels shall be free to discuss and criticize within the party its line, strategy, platform, policies, and the words and deeds of its leading cadres.



No party members and party organizations at any level shall refuse to participate in party activities or follow party resolutions pleading a difference of view or opinion.

Article 28: The party may openly censure or withdraw recognition from an organization at any level for engaging in activities that violate the party constitution or a party policy.

A party member who, in word or deed, violates the party constitution or resolutions or damages party reputation shall be warned, publicly censured, put on probation within the party, or have his name removed from the rolls, depending on the seriousness of the case.

Article 29: Resolutions on punishment shall be tabled by the appropriate executive committee and voted by the review committee. Major cases shall be transferred to and decided by the general party meeting.

In deliberating a punishment case involving a subordinate organization or party member, a review committee may request the organization or individual concerned to testify and answer questions.

A party member or organization who refuses to accept the review committee's ruling may appeal to the review committee at a higher level, but he may do so only once.

Arbitration rules shall be drawn up separately.

Article 30: A separate, independent arbitration committee shall be set up to arbitrate internal party disputes. Its organization shall be decided elsewhere.

Arbitration shall be in accordance with just procedures, respect the right of the individual to appeal, and give full consideration to his opinions.

## Chapter 8. Funding

Article 31: The party shall obtain its funding from these sources:

1. party membership dues;
2. donations; and
3. other incomes.

Schedule of membership dues shall be set separately.

## Chapter 9. Supplementary Articles

Article 32: Regulations governing the admission procedures of the party's founding members and the organization of its first national party congress shall be drawn up separately.

Article 33: The constitution shall go into effect upon approval by the national party congress. A constitutional amendment requires the approval of two-thirds of the delegates to the national party congress.

A motion to amend the constitution shall be put forward 1 month before the national party congress is scheduled to convene and shall be mailed to all delegates 2 weeks before the congress meets.

## Platform of the Democratic Progressive Party

### I. Basic Platform--Our Fundamental Proposals

#### A. A Free and Democratic Legal and Political Order

A free and democratic state should eliminate any form of violence and autocracy. It should be founded on a legal and political order derived from the free will and self-determination of the majority. It should honor the following fundamental principles: the protection of basic human rights, popular sovereignty, separation of powers, checks and balances, government accountability, the rule of law, judicial independence, and equality and freedom of political parties. Over the past 3 or 4 decades, however, not only has there been no election to give the people a completely new legislature, but martial law has also been prolonged, with emergency regulations superseding the constitution. The principles of constitutionalism have been totally perverted. We, therefore, reiterate:

1. That human dignity and basic human rights are to be safeguarded. Man is at the center of the state or any social system. He does not exist for the state and or a particular social system. It is the state and social systems which exist for man. All social institutions, be they legislative, judicial, administrative, legal, or economic, are instruments of protecting human dignity and basic human rights, which are safeguarded by the constitution and cannot be taken away or limited by any arbitrary piece of law. No law should restrict academic freedom and freedom of thinking and belief, while laws curbing the freedoms of speech, publication, assembly, and association should follow the principle that means and ends should be proportionate to each other and must not overstep their scope.

2. That the principle of popular sovereignty will be established. The people are the source of all state power who only entrust authority to legislatures at various levels for limited periods. New legislatures should be elected on schedule. They must write laws and make policies in accordance with popular wishes. Laws and policies must be enforced or implemented legally and properly. Otherwise, people have the natural right to resist. The government is responsible to the people and the people have the right to supervise and replace the government. They also have the right to decide the form of government and their future political direction.

3. That separation of powers and a system of checks and balances are to be set up. Organizations wielding public power at various levels should be separate from one another by a system of checks and balances. The need for

balance of power is even more urgent between the central government and localities. These two levels of government should be parallel to each other to preserve local self-government.

4. That party politics is to be invigorated. Political parties collectively embody national political will and are indispensable to the constitutional structure. Moreover, party politics should abide by such principles as the freedom of forming parties, equality between parties, and intraparty democracy.

5. That freedom of assembly and association and spontaneity of political movements is to be affirmed. In a pluralistic society, freedom of assembly and association is a basic human right that must not be encroached upon by the government. Spontaneous popular organizations and movements should be encouraged as a conduit for channeling public opinion in order to ameliorate the social evils caused by the improper exercise of state power as well as negative inaction, capitalist monopoly, or collusion between bureaucrats and capitalists.

6. That freedom of the press is to be safeguarded. Newspapers, radio, and television should assume a public responsibility and do their best to provide information and reflect diverse views. Newspaper publishers and the radio and television industry should not be dominated by a political party or faction and must try to avoid creating an oligopoly. There should be explicit statutory protection for the independence and autonomy of newspaper, radio, and television workers.

7. That the law should pursue and bring about justice. A state under the rule of law should conscientiously abide by the constitution, protect the principle of legal precedent, and bring about substantive justice. Law-making should accord with the concept of justice, be in step with social development, and march with the times. The judiciary should be above party or factional politics and administer justice independently in accordance with the law.

8. That a neutral and responsible bureaucracy is to be established. As government functions multiply and administrative powers expand, the administrative bureaucracy should be subject to rigorous control by other branches of government. In particular, there is a need to cultivate political neutrality and a sense of ethics in the bureaucracy to prevent it from degenerating into a political party's instrument of subjugation.

9. That the use of emergency powers by the state will be supervised. The use of emergency powers must not undermine constitutional rule. The beginning and termination of a state of emergency and the exercise of emergency power should be subject to stringent parliamentary oversight. The people's right to resist should also be recognized in order to offset the encroachments on human rights resulting from the expansion of administrative power in a state of emergency.

## B. A Balanced Economic and Financial System

With transportation and communications becoming more sophisticated each day, a global economy has taken shape. Nations cannot but work hard to maintain a proper rate of economic growth. Nor can they stay prosperous in isolation. Given its island economy, in particular, Taiwan is a member of the international economic community and must pursue economic well-being within the global economy and devise policies to withstand ups and downs in the world economy. At the same time, it must redistribute the fruits of economic growth among the entire population through the income tax and usher in long-term stable prosperity. Accordingly we propose that:

1. Private property be respected. To improve productivity and promote economic growth, the government should protect the individual's full right to enjoy the fruits of his investment. Apart from passive guidance, the government should actively create an investment climate in the private sector and protect private property.
2. Economic growth be maintained amid stability. To cushion the island economy from the effects of booms and busts in the foreign market, the government should study and draw up an industrial development policy by following the trends in the international industrial structure in order to increase enterprises' profitability and ensure stable economic growth.
3. Full employment be promoted. Labor is a major means of production. Unemployment impairs an individual's self-esteem, deprives him of his livelihood, and wastes a useful natural resource. To prevent unemployment, the government should improve citizens' job skills and develop industries to create jobs.
4. Small and medium-sized enterprises be nurtured. The government should recognize entrepreneurial freedom as a basic economic human right and affirm small and medium-sized enterprises as the main driving force in the nation's economy for which it must increase its support consistent with the development of the industrial structure.
5. Balanced regional development be ensured. The government must correct the bias in its industrial development policy and prevent a concentration of population in cities. Wide earnings gaps between regions are a source of social economic problems. The government should divide the province into living circles and work out an industrial development policy in the light of the resources of each region.
6. The ecological environment be protected. Past economy-first policies have been destructive of the environment and must now be revised. The principle of ecological protection and the overriding importance of the quality of life must be affirmed. Before making policies on the exploitation and utilization of natural resources, the production and use of chemicals, and investments in nuclear energy, etc., the government must first evaluate them rigorously.

7. Public enterprises be privatized. To avoid political influence-peddling and monopolies, and improve business efficiency, the government should adopt the principle of opening up public enterprises to private operation. As for some public utilities of a monopolistic nature which cannot be opened to private operation in the short run, they should be restructured and be subject to close oversight by popularly elected bodies.

8. Agricultural and fishery resources be developed. The contributions of agriculture and fishery to the overall economy should be affirmed. Attention should be paid to the more serious handicaps they labor under compared to industry and commerce. The bans on fishing in certain areas and on farming in the mountains must be lifted to expand farmland and fishing grounds. The government should protect fishermen working at sea by equipping them with the necessary equipment and stepping up skills training. The production and marketing system must be improved to raise farmers' and fishermen's incomes.

9. A sound fiscal and financial system be set up. The government should devise a fair tax system, narrow the earnings gap between citizens, eradicate corruption and waste, and lessen the tax burden on the people. An orderly financial system should be reestablished to aid enterprises in raising capital and improve the people's benefits from savings.

#### C. An Open and Fair Welfare Society

Battered by social transition and led by a government helpless in the face of change, Taiwan's social structure and functions have been severely strained and distorted. Many social institutions necessary to the existence and development of modern society are still deficient. The decline in social adaptability has led to a breakdown in social ethics and a loss of sense of security and sense of belonging. We cannot but search urgently for remedies. Therefore, we propose:

1. That a just, stable society be established where all have a fair share of social achievements and enjoy social resources in common and where social exploitation and inhumane labor conditions cease to exist. In this society, people pursue self-development in a spiritual and meaningful labor environment. Here harmony reigns between man and nature and between the aspirations and dreams of all individuals, free from external pressures.

2. That the higher goal of bringing about a welfare state be realized. The government should do everything within its power to give priority to providing each member of society with the living conditions necessary for the maintenance of basic dignity. In this it should not rely too much on private organizations. As far as the poor, the underprivileged, and the weak are concerned, government should provide positive protection, instead of merely doling out humanitarian aid, in order to achieve a welfare state.

3. That a social security system covering the entire population be set up. Social insurance coverage should be broadened to include everybody, not just workers, members of the armed forces, government employees, and teachers. Retirement insurance should take the form of old-age pension, while unemployment insurance should be implemented as soon as possible. A poverty

line should be set; people falling below that line, the impoverished members of society who do not make enough to participate in social insurance, should be entitled to public assistance. The government should show particular concern for the native and minority populations, the handicapped, widows, orphans, and other underprivileged members of society.

4. That labor protection standards be raised. Such standards should be made applicable to all workers. Working hours should be staggered. Working mothers with young children should be allowed to work half-days or part-time. Wages should be pegged to the price index. There should be concrete safeguards for the right of labor to associate, engage in collective bargaining, and strike.

5. That production democracy be adopted in public enterprises. "Work" should more than merely satisfy a person's survival needs. It should also satisfy man's need to make progress together and the need of the individual to realize his own potential. We must change the production logic by making "cooperation" and common enjoyment our production goal. Accordingly we must introduce "production democracy" in which labor, management, and community representatives all take part in decision-making. This is the way to go if we are to achieve a democratic society in the future. For the moment, public enterprises should allow workers to participate in decision-making.

6. That the pressure of an expanding population be diffused. Population policy should focus on improving population quality and reducing the birth rate. The government should lose no time in drawing up an immigration policy under which it will take the lead or play a supplementary role in channelling the outward flow of population to till new land or look for jobs. Such a move is needed to solve the "toothbrush phenomenon" resulting from years of lack of planning and unsound migration.

#### D. New and Progressive Education and Culture

Education and culture are basic to cultivating a sense of modernity among the people. Because of improper intervention by the political authorities, schools for years have degenerated into places where outdated dogmas were worshipped and obsolete knowledge memorized. In society, too, vulgar consumer-oriented culture has been allowed to run rampant, while grassroots culture of a higher order was ignored. Hence the people have become wedded to rigid, inflexible, and parochial ideas and most lack the mode of rationalistic thinking of modern society, a correct understanding of history, a sense of social identity, refined cultural training, or modern world knowledge. Therefore, we advocate:

1. The establishment of an open educational system. Depending on its level and type, a school should impart knowledge and skills and offer total education, emphasizing in particular the development of students' ability to think independently and make judgments as well as their sense of freedom and democracy. In pursuit of this goal, the government should increase education spending considerably and, even more important, overhaul and substantiate teaching curricula, giving students more opportunity to develop their learning potential freely. Political intervention in education should be eliminated so that schools can play their educational and research role and serve society

unimpeded. A life-long education system should be set up where pre-school education, social education, and adult education form a coherent whole along with school education.

2. The protection of educational neutrality and academic freedom. The educational rights of teachers and students should be safeguarded and the quality of education should be upgraded. Students should have complete freedom to put out publications and hold discussions on campus. Both college faculty and students should enjoy freedom of association and campus autonomy. The employment and termination of employment of the personnel of universities and research institutions should be decided fairly by their own credentials committees. Political intervention should be strictly removed from this process. Outstanding teachers with considerable seniority should be given life tenure.

3. The combination of modern culture with native culture. Culture should be passed from generation to generation and grow naturally to become the embodiment of a community and the very lifeblood of society. We should incorporate and assimilate foreign culture and oppose any deliberate attempt to transplant, suppress, or destroy culture by political might. We should affirm native culture while absorbing foreign culture at the same time so as to form a brand new progressive culture.

4. The enrichment of culture. We should elevate the philosophical and intellectual aspects of culture while controlling the flood of consumer-oriented and entertainment culture. We should support non-profit cultural activities and preserve the special cultures of different regions and communities. We should strengthen international cultural exchange and make extra efforts to ensure balanced urban-rural cultural development. We should also take extra care to avoid the political contamination of culture and the use of culture by a party as an instrument of propaganda.

#### E. A Peaceful and Independent Defense and Foreign Policy

After Communist China entered the United Nations, the number of nations with formal diplomatic ties with Taiwan has been dwindling steadily. As Taiwan's isolation in the international community intensifies by the day, its people have lost the right to take part in international social activities and encountered grave inconvenience in foreign travel and world trade. Isolation has also led to an outflow of capital and seriously impeded Taiwan's external development. While insisting on representing all of China, the Nationalist government has clung to the "three nos" policy with regard to the mainland. Diplomatically it barely manages to survive by hanging on to nongovernmental relations. Obviously it has lost the capacity for autonomous existence and advance planning. Therefore, we advocate that:

1. International relations be restored and furthered. On the basis of such principles as equality, mutual benefit, independence, and self-determination, we should stand side by side with peace-loving nations which advocate international justice, have faith in democracy and freedom, and respect popular sovereignty, and engage in a joint struggle for peace and progress

among mankind. In order to develop an independent diplomacy, we should enhance the ability of the nation to survive and tackle matters relating to Taiwan's existing status in the international community more flexibly and positively.

2. International disputes be settled peacefully. We should take nonviolent pacifism seriously without, however, forfeiting our fundamental right to self-defense. We oppose the military occupation of another country or the military conquest of divided national political entities which are still the subject of international dispute. We support international disarmament negotiations, scaling down the arms race, and destroying the nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons in the arsenals of the nations of the world.

3. Taiwan's future should be decided by Taiwan's entire population. According to principles enunciated in the "International Agreement on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights," all peoples have the right to self-determination and are free to decide their political status and develop economically, socially, and culturally. Taiwan's future should be decided by its entire people jointly in a free, autonomous, popular, fair, and equal manner. No government or combination of governments have the right to decide Taiwan's political ownership.

4. The termination of the confrontation on the two sides of Taiwan Strait. A humane, fair, and peaceful solution should be found, based on the general interests of the Taiwan people. Given the existence of vastly different political, economic, and social systems on opposite sides of the strait, the first priority is to devote ourselves to improving the livelihood of the people in both places. Tension should not be created. The Taiwan issue should be decided by Taiwan's entire population through the exercise of their free will. We oppose any move by the Communists and Nationalists to negotiate Taiwan's future in violation of the principle of self-determination.

5. The adoption of a scientific selective service military policy. The term of military service should be shortened. The defense budget should be prepared and the final accounts examined most stringently to put an end to waste. Funds should be devoted to the purchase of naval and air defense equipment. The sources of military procurement should be diversified and domestic production should be stepped up.

6. The nationalization of the military. Popular and civilian control over the military should be achieved. The military should be politically neutral and stay out of party struggles. Political parties, for their part, should withdraw from the military. Military agencies should be completely subject to parliamentary supervision and be responsible to the highest popularly elected body.



## II. A Plan for Action: Concrete Proposals on Current Issues

### Diplomacy

1. Oppose the military threat to Taiwan posed by the Chinese Communists. Both sides on the Taiwan Strait should engage in peaceful competition on an equal basis and preserve peace permanently in a rational way.
2. Oppose the use of force in solving international disputes and any attempt by any government to solve a dispute in a way that ignores the wishes of local inhabitants.
3. Adopt active and flexible approaches to strive to re-enter the United Nations. We should abide by the UN charter and international treaties to make our way back into the international community on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.
4. Oppose racial discrimination, affirm the "internationalization of human rights," and support human rights workers and people who have been deprived of human rights all over the world.
5. Oppose international terrorists, who violently murder innocent civilians, and call for the restoration of a just international political order.
6. Promote regional economic cooperation in the Far East and the Pacific region and strengthen international cultural, scientific, and economic exchange.

### National Defense

7. Follow a scientific selective military policy and make self-defense the centerpiece of national defense.
8. Oppose the manufacture, purchase, storage, and use of biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons.
9. Put an end to the politicization of the military and prohibit individuals or political parties from owning or controlling the armed forces.
10. Revise the "military service law" and shorten the term of active service for soldiers in the standing army. Reform officer recruitment from among college students so that it will not take place during a school term.
11. Establish a sound national defense system. Incorporate the military command system as well as the military administrative system into the Defense Ministry. Safeguard civilian and parliamentary control over the military.

## Freedom and Human Rights

12. Vigorously enforce democratic constitutional rule, protect human rights, and consider all people equal before the law.

13. Protect personal freedoms. Nobody can be arrested, taken into custody, interrogated, or punished against the law. The extortion of statements by torture is strictly forbidden. Soldiers not in active service should not be court-martialed.

14. Protect freedom of expression. The government should neither set up any inspection system nor restrict the establishment of mass media.

15. Abolish the "Law of Constitution for People's Organizations in an Emergency" to protect freedom of association.

16. Protect the people's right to mail security. Restrictions on posts and telecommunications should be forbidden, as should the theft and opening of mail and eavesdropping.

17. Publish and abolish the "blacklist" of people barred from entering or leaving the country. Protect freedom of movement.

18. Protect the people's freedom to change their residence. The ban on moving into the mountains and operating at sea should be lifted, particularly the former.

19. Protect freedom of thinking and belief. The persecution of dissidents should be strictly forbidden.

20. Oppose religious persecution.

21. Reform prison administration, respect the human dignity of prisoners, who must not be tortured, humiliated, or insulted.

22. Respect life, strictly prevent any miscarriage of justice, and examine the feasibility of abolishing the death penalty.

23. Release political prisoners and prevent all discrimination against and persecution of political prisoners and their families.

24. Revise the criminal code and establish a jury system. In cases involving internal disturbance and external aggression, a jury should be selected comprising representatives from various political parties, the national assembly, and impartial members of society. These cases should be tried in public.

25. Adopt humanitarian principles and respect the desire of the people from the mainland to return to their hometown.

## Politics

26. Oppose one-party Communist rule and any form of totalitarianism. Reject the violent revolutionary way as a means of political struggle. All political parties should coexist in peace, compete fairly, and work together for Taiwan's stability and prosperity.

27. Abolish the ban on parties immediately. At a time when the Legislative Yuan remains structurally flawed and unable to reflect public opinion, we should restore the right to form political parties freely as provided by the constitution. Oppose the use of the Law of Constitution for People's Organizations and similar laws to suppress new political organizations and parties.

28. Separate parties strictly from government. Parties must not occupy or use public properties.

29. Political parties must withdraw from military, police, and intelligence units and must not possess armed forces.

30. Lift martial law immediately and annul or modify all relevant decrees and institutions born of martial law. Restore Articles 39 and 43 of the constitution. Oppose the promulgation of a national security law. Reestablish a regular legal system.

31. Repeal all emergency provisions that supersede the constitution and all unconstitutional laws and decrees. Restore constitutional rule.

32. Repeal the "National General Mobilization Law" promulgated during the emergency. Abolish irregular war-time controls.

33. Repeal the "Law of Election and Recall of Public Employees During Mobilization to Suppress A Rebellion" and replace it with an election and recall law based on free public-funded elections that fully reflect the order of preference. Even more important, establish a separate, independent election supervision agency.

34. Hold elections to choose a completely new legislature at the center. Abolish overseas ballots and the representative system for women and professional organizations.

35. Based on the constitution, draw up general rules for provincial and county self-government. The provincial governor and mayors should be popularly elected.

36. Revise the "Revenue Sharing Law" to increase local revenues, strengthen local power, and bring about local self-government.

37. Reorganize the Mongol and Zang Nationalities Committee. Establish a Minority Nationalities Committee to be made up of representatives elected by the various native and minority nationalities. The committee is to take part in the making, evaluation, and oversight of relevant policies.

38. Private property should be protected. The government should offer reasonable compensation for taking over a citizen's property. There should be no taking of property by force.
39. Eradicate corruption and privilege. Establish a registration system for the assets of public employees. Officials above the rank of minister should neither own private businesses nor hold stocks in public enterprises and should disclose their financial status annually.
40. Government employees and teachers should remain politically neutral. They should be strictly prohibited from using their public position to get involved in party or factional struggles.
41. Eliminate redundant government personnel. The appointment of personnel should be free from party and factional restrictions or considerations of provincial origins.
42. The intelligence agency must not operate against a national within the country.
43. The bureau of investigation must not carry out general evidence-gathering activities not related to a specific case against a national.
44. Reorganize the intelligence machinery. Dissolve the garrison headquarters. Both the bureau of investigation and the intelligence agency should be supervised by the Legislative and Supervisory Yuans.
45. Judges should withdraw from political parties and adjudicate cases independently.
46. Top posts in judicial organs at all levels should be filled by experienced judges, not administrative officials or party functionaries.
47. The training and promotion of judicial officials should be removed from party politics. Those who recommend and those in procuratorial work should not be transferred to fill each other's posts.
48. Hold the conduct of judicial officials to high standards. Strengthen judicial discipline. Raise the salaries of judicial officials and safeguard their dignity and independence.
49. Tighten police discipline. Those who pervert justice for a bribe or collude with criminal elements must be severely dealt with without exception.
50. Top positions in the national police should be filled by individuals with a proper background and training in police administration. The separation of the police from the military must be strictly enforced.
51. Disclose the facts about the 28 February incident and designate that day as "Peace Day" in order to end discrimination based on different provincial origins.

## Finance and Economics

52. Affirm laissez-faire economics. Gradually open up the domestic market. Eliminate protectionist policies. Take the initiative to lower tariffs substantially.
53. Develop science- and technology-intensive industries. Improve the industrial structure. Guide domestic industry to make itself more competitive internationally.
54. Protect consumer interests. Draw up fair-trade legislation. Strictly prevent improper, excessive profiteering. Strengthen economic discipline. Establish an orderly domestic market.
55. Perfect the operations of the financial market. Outlaw privileged loans. Relax rules so that small and medium-sized enterprises can raise capital more readily. Help citizens secure loans to buy houses.
56. Apart from the national bank, the government should not hold shares in financial institutions. All financial institutions should be traded on the stock market and must be prevented from using funds illegally.
57. The deposit, use, and control of foreign exchange must be under the close oversight of the Legislative and Supervisory Yuans.
58. Adopt a flexible exchange rate. Ease foreign exchange control. Promote foreign investment. Reduce intervention by the central bank.
59. Implement an industrial policy through consultation with industry and labor.
60. Outlaw monopolies. Uproot collusion between government and business. Implement a fair-trade law to ensure production and marketing freedom in the market.
61. Encourage the establishment of a foreign trade alliance and the integration of production and marketing to avoid exploitation by middlemen.
62. Step up supervision over public enterprises. Put an end to political patronage. As a rule, existing public enterprises should be opened up to private operation.
63. The prices or fees of the products or services of privately owned utilities which are of a monopolistic nature should be reviewed and approved by a body representing public opinion.
64. Abolish the official monopoly on the sale of tobacco and liquor.
65. Concerning foreign investments and joint ventures in Taiwan, preference should be given to capital- or technology-intensive projects. When the production, marketing, or management technology of a project already exists in

Taiwan, the Taiwanese partner must not hold less than 51 percent of the shares. This rule should not apply to those projects which bring new technology to Taiwan. In those cases, a date should be set for technology transfer. If this date is not met, the project will not be permitted to continue to operate.

66. Foreign investments and joint ventures which have been approved should have the same rights and obligations as those owned by local investors. They should be given no preferential treatment.

67. Revise the tax system. Raise the exemption rate for low-income people and strictly prevent tax evasion and cheating by high-income groups.

68. Reform the land tax system, making direct tax its centerpiece. Consideration should be given to both "equality" and "tax according to ability to pay." Narrow the earnings gaps between citizens.

69. No value-added or sales tax should be levied on daily necessities.

70. Firmly oppose the construction of new nuclear power generating plants. Actively look for alternative sources of energy to replace nuclear energy. Close all existing nuclear power plants.

71. Stringently enforce existing safety regulations for nuclear power plants. Improve the quality of workers in nuclear power facilities. Nuclear wastes should be removed from Lanyu and buried in a suitable location.

72. Tighten the testing of food, drugs, and commodities to ensure consumer safety.

73. Protect the environment. Reduce industrial hazards. Ban pollution caused by waste water, waste gas, and solid wastes.

74. Protect citizens' environmental rights. Conscientiously prevent environmental pollution. Preserve a good way of life and the ecological environment.

75. Examine the conditions in which foreign investors operate, paying particular attention to the pollution risks they pose.

#### Society

76. Provide social welfare for all. Protect social security.

77. Broaden the target population and coverage of social insurance to assist citizens below the poverty line.

78. Expand the public medical care network. Speed up the processing of universal health insurance. Provide completely free medical treatment, drugs, and health care.

79. Expand the pension system for the elderly. Raise old-age pensions. Make nursing homes widely available. Elderly retired people who are willing to work should be given assistance to find work of a social service nature.

80. Revise the welfare law for the handicapped. Take practical steps to ensure the well-being of handicapped fellow countrymen. Increase their employment and examination opportunities. Those living in poverty should be given subsidies.

81. Build additional public facilities and modify existing ones to provide the handicapped with equal access.

82. Grant loans to retired servicemen or allocate them public housing in return for their turning over their land grant certificates.

83. Respect women's status and rights. End all discrimination blocking women's participation in society. Draw up legislation to punish those who infringe upon women's dignity either through violence or with money.

84. Make public day-care centers widely available to convenience working women and ensure the safety of young children.

85. Popularize family planning and carry out a "zero population growth" policy. Upgrade population quality.

86. Provide systematic assistance to people migrating overseas.

87. Adopt regional planning and development. Implement a population dispersal policy.

#### Labor

88. Raise labor protection standards. Improve working conditions and workplace safety. Safeguard workers' rights to association, collective bargaining, and strike.

Public enterprises should take the lead in allowing worker participation in decision-making and operations.

90.[as published] Make employment guidance agencies more effective. Establish a nationwide employment information network. Step up the training and education of people looking for jobs or changing jobs so that the nation's entire labor force can be put to the best use.

91. Enforce universal employment insurance so that the unemployed and their families can maintain a basic decent existence.

92. Provide positive assistance to women in their job searches. Protect their right to work so that they will not be discriminated against on account of sex, marriage, pregnancy, or childbirth.

93. Establish a half-day or part-time work system for women in childbearing years.

94. Revise the "trade union law," doing away with restrictions on the size of membership, on number of unions, on unions joining forces, and on union activities. Prohibit any attempt to control trade unions through intimidation and other improper methods.

95. Revise the "minimum wage law." Ensure that workers obtain a fair and reasonable wage so that they and their families can live in dignity.

96. Equal pay for workers in jobs of comparable worth, irrespective of their sex. Blue-collar and white-collar workers should be equally respected.

97. Set up a labor department to take charge of labor administration nationwide.

98. Set up a labor court to hear cases involving labor-management disputes.

#### Agriculture, Fishery, Forestry, and Animal Husbandry.

99. Popularize joint production and marketing in agriculture. Eliminate exploitation by middlemen.

100. Improve the forecasting of agricultural trends to avoid an imbalance of supply and demand.

101. Reorganize the peasant associations. Raise peasants' incomes through cooperative means. Peasants associations should be allowed to charge reasonable fees for completing jobs assigned by the government. "Pseudo-peasants" should be strictly prohibited from dominating peasant associations to make profits.

102. Expand the scope and increase the kinds of health insurance for peasants. Offer agricultural insurance to shield peasants from the effects of natural disasters.

103. Offer long-term low-interest rural development loans to encourage peasants to improve the living environment.

104. Encourage the manufacture and sale of inexpensive and non-polluting pesticides.

105. Consume domestic agricultural products first before considering the import of foreign agricultural goods. Limit such imports appropriately.

106. Encourage farmers to expand the scale of their operations. Raise unit yields. Encourage rural youth to engage in deep-sea fishing.



107. Restructure the water conservancy associations, ridding them of party or factional control. Set a reasonable schedule of water charges in accordance with actual utilization.

108. Improve the sailor hiring system.

109. The navy should protect fishermen working at sea.

110. Prevent pollution in coastal waters. Guide the development of coastal aquaculture.

111. Assist the private sector in making substantial investments and cooperate fully with various Pacific nations in the development of offshore and deep-sea fishing and the operation of underwater farms and fisheries and deep-sea factory ships.

112. Open up fishermen communication equipment as soon as possible. Put up more marine training schools to pave the way for a marine industry.

113. Get rid of age-old maladies in agencies in charge of the forestry industry. Intensify afforestation and forest protection. In the interest of water and soil conservation strictly ban the wanton felling of trees and the indiscriminate cultivation of land.

114. Strictly prohibit industrial and commercial enterprises from covertly swallowing up various animal husbandry cash awards to ensure that peasants stay in the animal husbandry business.

#### Education

115. Protect academic, research, and creative freedoms. Respect teachers and the teaching profession. Let professors run the schools. Establish life tenure for outstanding teachers.

116. Abolish standard textbooks and curricula in elementary and middle schools. Strictly prevent the teaching of political dogmas. Cultivate the spirit of independent thinking and the capacity for independent judgment.

117. Increase educational and cultural spending, including the educational and cultural budget of the central government. Strictly forbid party activities from misappropriating educational funds.

118. Protect the right of the people to set up private schools at all levels and draw up their own teaching curricula, as long as they operate in line with the nation's educational goals.

119. Abolish the drillmaster and military training systems. Prohibit parties, factions, and special agents from controlling schools or interfering in school administration. Achieve campus democracy.

120. Extend compulsory universal education to 12 years.

121. Reform the system of joint college entrance examinations. Increase the number of universities. Expand enrollments at public colleges and universities. Raise teaching standards and the elimination rate.
122. Reduce class size. Improve teaching aids and equipment to make teaching more effective.
123. The "fixed credit system" in colleges should incorporate the spirit of the "flexible school-year system" as much as possible.
124. Improve the quality of teachers and equipment in graduate schools. Cooperate with well-known universities overseas to set up branches.
125. Build or encourage the private sector to build educational institutions for the handicapped.
126. Make public the appointment, removal, and assessment of personnel in educational institutions as well as their funding. Establish an appeal system for teachers who are removed from office or dismissed.
127. Improve teachers' salaries to ensure their standard of living. Implement a teachers' retirement system.
128. Offer long-term, low-interest, government-guaranteed loans for students above the college level. Expand scholarships and grants for poor students.
129. Strictly forbid private schools from profiteering. Protect the teachers and workers of private schools. Encourage private schools with outstanding results by offering them tangible incentives.
130. Give preference to assisting backward areas to improve their educational facilities. Strive for balanced educational development.

#### Culture

131. Encourage grassroots culture. Preserve cultural assets and folk arts. Increase touring exhibitions and performances. Achieve balanced urban-rural cultural development.
132. Affirm Taiwan's historical and cultural position and value. Compile teaching materials reflecting local conditions and suited to local needs. Promote local education to inspire patriotism and love of one's native land. Incorporate Taiwan history into school curricula at all levels.
133. Increase funding to upgrade and increase community sports fields and athletic equipment. Promote universal athletics. Participate actively in international sports events.
134. Promote international scientific and cultural exchange and cooperation. Raise academic and cultural standards.

135. Establish a "national cultural development fund." Encourage and subsidize the creation and diffusion of artistic and cultural works. Encourage people to develop artistic interest and abilities. Improve their cultural tone.

136. Neither a political party nor the military should monopolize or run such mass media as TV and radio stations and newspapers. Protect the freedom of mass media workers. Revamp TV and radio programming to stem the tide of sex and violence.

137. Oppose limiting the hours of television and radio programs broadcast in a dialect.

138. Respect and assist the development of the culture, language, and religion of the native population.

139. Advocate proper pastimes and forms of entertainment. Restrictions putting the mountains, beaches, and seas off-limits should be abolished to increase the areas where citizens can visit.

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TAIWAN'S VERSION OF 'UNHEALTHY PRACTICES'

Shanghai XINMIN WANBAO in Chinese 30 Oct 86 p 5

[Text] In his recent article "On the Socio-Psychological Conditions That Have Arisen on Taiwan" Wu Fengshan [0702 0023 1472], president of the TZULI WANBAO newspaper on Taiwan, asserts that Taiwan presently faces five major socio-psychological problems:

First, fearful submissiveness to bad government and toadying to this type of bad government. "Secretly criticizing everything in the privacy of one's own home, while publicly singing the praises of great achievements is a widely prevailing phenomenon."

Second, excessive impetuosity. "Exaggerations and fantasies are everywhere in evidence. It is a worrisome scene of greed and presumptuousness."

Third, blind worship of foreign things. In the market, you may hear Mrs. Zhang tell Mrs. Wang: "Your son is really good-looking, he looks like a little Japanese boy!" Things that have been laboriously developed by our own efforts, would frequently be called "American bullfrogs," "American celery," "American corn." Some eminent intellectuals are even far worse than ordinary people in their worship of foreign things.

Fourth, the venom of extreme individualism permeates everything, as showing in such social behavior as "false pretenses, insincerity, and wantonness," a heart and soul infatuation with material desires and enjoyments, coveting gains without working for them, not shirking from breaking laws and committing crimes, and showing not the least consideration for the interests of the public at large.

Fifth, engaging in sham activities of no significance. "This is evident in the intensified 'political sloganeering' of every shape and manner and the indulgence in fantasies. The consequences are decay of good political practices, decline in efficiency, failure of the political machinery, and the erosion of efficacy in economic construction.

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CSO: 4005/234

# UNREPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSED

Taiwan TZULI WANPAO in Chinese 24 Nov 86 p 2

[Report from Taipei: "Candidates of the Democratic Progressive Party Assail the 'Eternal' National Assembly; Demand Complete Reelection in Order to Reflect the Will of the People"]

[Text] Most of the popularly elected people's representatives of the central government have not been reelected for the last 30 or 40 years. For several days, candidates of the Democratic Progressive Party from the first district of Taipei Municipality have lashed out against this situation. They also demand a complete reelection of the National Assembly, as this body would otherwise not fully reflect the will of the people.

Huang Huangxiong [7806 3552 7160], candidate from the first district for the Legislative Yuan, yesterday evening pointed out at a small group meeting venting political ideas on the three types of congresses: Over 80 percent of the delegates to our National Assembly, Legislative Yuan, and Control Yuan have been elected 40 years ago. Following the removal of the central government to Taiwan, the tenure of these popularly elected representatives has been extended indefinitely; they became delegates for life and thus obstacles to democratic government.

Huang Huangxiong said that the people of Taiwan bear 100 percent of the costs of the central government, while they can elect only 20 percent of the Legislative Yuan, 8 percent of the National Assembly, and 20 percent of the Control Yuan. The rest are in lifetime positions for which reelection is not required. Democratic constitutional government would require that the entire National Assembly be reelected.

Another candidate for the Legislative Yuan from the first district, You Qing [1429 3237], stated: Although the president of our Executive Yuan is appointed on the recommendation of the President with the approval of the Legislative Yuan, the fact that most members of that yuan have not been reelected makes legality of the appointment of our president of the Executive Yuan questionable.

He said, the constitution clearly prescribes that every member of the Legislative Yuan is appointed for a 3-year term. The council of chief

justices has no right to interpret the situation in a way that makes them elected for lifetime. Extension of their tenure requires an amendment of the constitution. Neither the council of chief justices as the tribunal in constitutional matters nor the ordinary law courts have the right to arrive at the above-indicated interpretation.

Xie Changting [6200 7022 1694], candidate for the Legislative Yuan from Taipei Municipality, stated: After becoming member of the Legislative Yuan, he launched a movement for the "normalization of the National Assembly," to get it back to society at large and to the people, allowing all those who support him become "legislative delegates."

Xie Changting stated: On being elected delegate to the Legislative Yuan, he found himself not alone in taking a stand against the presence of the old legislators, but even if the opponents would be all personally present at voting time, they could not win against the old legislators. However, if the electorate would at all times maintain contact with him, and he could count on being backed by the will of the people, he will be able to successfully fight for the rights and interests of the public at large. The ultimate goal is to bring about the reelection of the entire Legislative Yuan.

Kang Ningxiang [1660 1337 4382] additionally emphasized that the present increase in popularly elected representatives--100 additional positions for the Legislative Yuan--constitutes outwardly a reelection of one third of the Legislative Yuan. But in actual fact, 27 positions are taken up by overseas Chinese and 16 positions are for professional associations, so that the extent of the reelection is really too small.

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END